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C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

CATILINA

ET

JUGURTHA.

WITH NOTES,

BY

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PREFACE.

LIFE OF SALLUST.

C. Sallustius Crispus was born at Amiternum (San Vittorino, north of Aquila), an old Sabine town on the river Aternus, amidst the highest Apennines. C. Marius, consul for the seventh time, died in B.C. 86, the year of Sallust's birth.

Sallust's family was plebeian. He passed his youth in troublesome times. The death of Marius was followed by the overthrow of the Marian faction, the tyranny of Sulla, and after Sulla's death in B.C. 78 by the war with Sertorius in Spain, and a servile war in Italy, which ended in B.C. 71. Sallust was twenty-three years of age in B.C. 63, when Cicero was consul, and Catilina formed the conspiracy which Sallust afterwards made the subject of one of his Histories. In B.C. 63 also was born C. Octavius, who afterwards settled the civil disorders of Rome by the establishment of the imperial power.

In his Preface to the conspiracy of Catilina Sallust tells us that history had been his early study, but he left it for a time to engage in political life, like most young men. He admits that he was ambitious; and he experienced all the trouble which attended a public career in Rome. The dishonesty and the vices of the age thwarted him in his attempts to rise, and offended his purer morals. He belonged to what may be called the popular party, which was opposed to the arrogant claims

and exclusive pretensions of the nobility, a term which comprehended those families whose ancestors had filled the high offices of the state, and their descendants wished to keep these offices with their emoluments to themselves.

We may assume that Sallust filled the office of quaestor and so got admission into the Senate; but his election to the tribunate in B.C. 53 is the first notice that we have of his public life. He obtained this office soon after Cato had once failed in getting the praetorship, because he refused to do the dirty work of canvassing; and it is probable that Sallust alludes to his own success in his election, when he asks those who may condemn him for retiring from public life, to consider under what circumstances he was elected and what kind of men were unable to get what he did (Jug. c. 4). In the beginning of B.C. 52, Sallust's year of office, P. Clodius lost his life in a brawl with T. Milo on the high road, and Sallust joined his fellow-tribunes Q. Pompeius and T. Munatius Plancus in opposing Cicero, who made himself a partizan of Milo and defended him on his trial. The three tribunes called meetings of the people and inflamed them against Milo with the view of doing him as much harm as they could in public opinion before his trial came on; and they did not spare Cicero. Sallust and Pompeius were suspected of coming to terms with Cicero and Milo, but Plancus persisted in his hostility.

Sallust was a partizan of C. Caesar and of his faction, though we do not know what service he did for his great patron while he was absent from Rome in the Gallic war. However, Sallust suffered from the hostility of the party of Cn. Pompeius in the year B.C. 50, at the same time as other friends of Caesar. The censors Appius Claudius and L. Calpurnius Piso removed several friends of Caesar from the Senate on various grounds, and Sallust among

them; the fair conclusion from which is, that Sallust's ejection was a party proceeding, whatever truth there may have been in the charge of his living a scandalous life.

The unknown author of the miserable Declamation against Sallust hints that Sallust after his ejection went to Caesar. In the early part of B.C. 50, Caesar was in North Italy; he spent the summer of that year in Transalpine Gallia, and returned to North Italy again at the close of the year. Sallust may have gone to Caesar and he may not, for there is no evidence about it. In the next year, B.C. 49, in January, Caesar crossed the river Rubicon, and Sallust may have joined him; but he was a man of so little mark that we find nothing about him until B.C. 48, when he had the command of a legion in Illyricum or the parts thereabouts, as Orosius tells us, or something to that effect, in a very confused way.

In B.C. 47 Sallust was praetor designatus, and thus he would be restored to his rank in the Senate, though it is likely enough that he was restored before by Caesar, but without the clumsy expedient of being elected quaestor a second time, as the author of the Declamation against Sallust affirms. Dion Cassius says that Sallust obtained his readmission to the Senate by being elected a praetor.

In September B.C. 47 Caesar returned from the Alexandrine war and immediately made preparations for the war in Africa, where King Juba, Scipio, and M. Cato had got together a large force. Some of Caesar's soldiers were mutinous and refused to go into Africa, claiming the fulfilment of the promises which Caesar had made them after the battle of Pharsalia, and release from service. Caesar sent Sallust to the mutineers, into Campania, as Dion Cassius says, but the praetor's eloquence did not pacify

the men, and he was compelled to fly for his life. Notwithstanding Sallust's want of success in this mission, Caesar commissioned him to take over some of the legions into Sicily for the African war, as some writers infer from a letter of Cicero to Atticus; but the letter certainly does not prove that Sallust did take the legions to Sicily. However, Sallust was in the African war, and Caesar sent him with some ships to the island Cercina, now the Karkenna islands off the coast of Tunis, to seize the stores of corn there. The quaestorius C. Decimius, who was placed in Cercina to take care of the corn, fled in a small vessel. Sallust was received by the islanders, and sent off a large quantity of corn to Caesar's camp. When the African war was ended by the defeat of Juba and Scipio early in B.C. 46, Caesar made Juba's kingdom of Numidia into a Roman province and left Sallust as governor with the title of Proconsul. Sallust remained in Africa during the year B.C. 46. In B.C. 45 he returned to Rome a rich man.

Sallust spent the rest of his life in retirement. He built a magnificent house and made a beautiful garden at Rome, in the valley which separates the Quirinal from the Pincius or Collis Hortulorum. This part of Rome was beyond the wall of Servius, and extended to the Porta Salaria, which was on the north-east side of Rome. The old Roman topographers affirm that the spot was named Salustricum or Salustium to their day. Near the elevation on which the Church of Sta Susanna stands was the Forum Sallustii. The Horti Sallustiani afterwards became imperial property, and were occupied by Nero, Vespasian, and Aurelian. The Emperor Nerva died here. Many valuable works of art have been found by excavating within the limits of Sallust's estate, and some of them may have belonged to the historian.

There is a story in Hieronymus that Sallust married Terentia, the divorced wife of M. Cicero. Terentia was put away by her husband in B.C. 46. She was then fifty at least, and Sallust was forty. Kritz says that it was so unequal a match that we can scarce believe it, unless Sallust had some peculiar reasons for marrying Terentia. But he may have had such reasons satisfactory to himself, if not to Kritz, and such marriages are not unknown in our times. We do not know if Sallust had any wife, unless it was Terentia, and he left no children, and so far the story of his marriage is consistent, for Terentia was past the usual age of child-bearing. But Terentia, it is said by the same writer who is the authority for her marriage with Sallust, married Messala Corvinus after Sallust's death. She reached the age of one hundred and three, and so had time enough to have three husbands or even more. However, there is no authority for the marriage with Sallust except that of Hieronymus, but he must have found this story somewhere.

Nothing is known of Sallust's life after Caesar's death, or how he managed to live quietly in those troublesome times. He amused himself with writing history, having retired from public life and having no taste, as he says, for agriculture or field sports, of both of which he speaks with contempt (Cat. c. 4). He died in B.C. 35, in his fifty-first year, and four years before the battle of Actium. His property went to his sister's grandson, whom he had adopted. This youth bore the historian's name, and was a man of some influence under Augustus and Tiberius. He died A.D. 20.

The little that we know of Sallust is almost a proof that he never attained any distinction as a public man, that he was neither an orator nor a soldier, that he had neither eloquence nor military talent, the two arts which

raised a man at Rome. Several of the later Roman writers give him a bad character, and affirm that his preaching and his practice did not agree. It is conjectured, and with much probability, that the writings of Pompeius Laenas were the foundation of this bad name, in part at least. Laenas was a freedman of Pompeius Magnus, and accompanied him in most of his expeditions. After the death of Magnus and his sons, Laenas kept a school in the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus. His affection to his old master, says Suetonius, made him write invectives against Sallust, for Sallust had written in his Histories something unfavourable about Pompeius. Sallust was of Caesar's faction, and Laenas was on the other side, and so we may expect that Laenas would abuse Sallust, even if Sallust had not abused Laenas' patron.

There are, however, specific charges against Sallust. He is charged with committing adultery with Fausta, Sulla's daughter, and Milo's wife. Adultery was not unusual at Rome, and such a breach of good morals might have passed unnoticed, if the woman and the husband had not been distinguished personages. It is said, and the learned M. Varro is the authority for it, that Milo caught Sallust in his adultery, gave him a good cowhiding, and let him go for a sum of money. The hiding was a very proper punishment; and the money may be viewed as damages, such as in our system a husband may get by legal proceedings against the adulterer. Milo took the short and Roman way of getting payment for the wrong, and Milo was in debt and wanted money.

Kritz admits that Varro was an honest man; but as he was not only a learned man but also a Pompeian, he thinks it is not incredible that he could not refrain from inflicting this stigma on a man of the opposite faction and a man

whom he did not like, following only vague city scandal. This is the first time that I ever heard of a man's learning being a reason for his believing an idle rumour. The conclusion of Kritz involves the assumption that a learned man has no sense and also no honesty. There could not be more precise and positive testimony than that of Varro. Kritz says that this scandalous story could only have been known from Sallust who was whipped and paid the money, or from Milo who received the money, for nobody will say that the affair took place in the presence of witnesses. If this learned critic knew more of what goes on in the world, he would not believe that a man of rank could be well flogged by an injured husband without the story being known, even if both the adulterer and the husband and wife said nothing about it. How does he suppose that Sallust could get out of Milo's house, or out of any house after such treatment without all the slaves knowing it, and others too? As to the confirmation of Varro's story from Horace and his Scholiast's note, it is not of much value, perhaps it has no value at all; but another passage in Horace shows that Fausta was believed to be a loose woman, and that one Villius, who was her lover, was also caught and beaten by Milo, but there was no money paid on that occasion.

The date of Sallust's unlucky adventure is not fixed, but we must infer that it was before Milo killed Clodius in January, B.C. 52. Sallust, as it has been already said, showed his hostility to Milo on this occasion, but there is no evidence of his being reconciled to Milo before Milo's trial, as Kritz affirms that Asconius says. Asconius only says that Sallust was suspected of having come to terms with Milo; a mere popular rumour, which however as being merely a rumour, I suppose, that a learned man ought to believe, as Varro believed another popular

rumour, which however was one of a much more positive nature than this which Asconius reports. Kritz also thinks that a reconciliation between Milo and Sallust cannot be believed, after what had happened. That is a matter which nobody can decide. Milo might easily forget his wrong, for he had been paid for it, and his wife made the thing familiar to him; and if Sallust did not forget the flogging, he knew that he was not the only man in Rome who had been served that way, and he might consider it as no more than the usual consequence of such an adventure. So the husband and the adulterer might very well come to terms for a political purpose. The Romans certainly were sometimes reconciled after abusing one another in a way which we do not imitate in modern times. I think, as I have said, that the story of Sallust's adultery is proved, as far as such a thing can be proved to us. The proof is the fact that a grave, learned, and honest man set it down deliberately in a book; and we have the passage of Varro in Gellius. Sallust may have reformed his ways, and when he preaches so finely in his Catilina and Jugurtha he may have been living a decent life. His marriage with the excellent old lady, Terentia, if we take the story, may be evidence that he was now an altered man. I should however have thought better of Sallust, if he had preached less. His moral talk is of the kind which we now call by the expressive term 'cant.'

Sallust is also charged with plundering the province of Numidia, and the author of the Declamation against Sallust is one of the witnesses for it. But we can give no weight to the author of this miserable composition, whoever he was. The Declamation was certainly written not long after Sallust's time, but it is a poor, feeble piece of work, which no man of sense could have written; and as we do not know who wrote it, we have nothing which

vouches for the evidence, and it should be rejected. Dion Cassius, a writer who is often unworthy of credit, because he was a lover of scandal and has a bad word for every body, says that a prosecution was commenced against Sallust for getting money unfairly in the province, but that his friend Caesar let him off; he adds that Sallust got into very bad repute for this affair, because his practice and his writings were so much at variance. Dion thought that Sallust wrote his historical works before he was governor of Numidia, and some modern writers have followed Dion in this opinion. But there is little doubt that here at least Dion was wrong; and it is supposed that if he was mistaken about the time when Sallust wrote, he may have been mistaken about the other matter too. But Dion's blunder in one thing, not in itself material or public, is no proof of his having blundered about a material fact, which, if true, must have been known. However, I set no value on Dion's testimony, and, as we say, we may give the historian the benefit of the doubt in this case.

One more remark in reference to Kritz, who defends Sallust's character. It is honourable and just to defend a man, even if he lived before the flood, when the evidence for his vices is insufficient. It is neither honourable nor just to give a man a bad name, when we have only rumour to support the charge. While then I hold Sallust's adultery to be proved as far as such things in times so remote can be proved, I do not admit that it is proved that he got money in Africa by dishonest means. But if he did come back to Rome very rich after one year's administration or somewhat more, he must have made very good use of his time; and the presumption is certainly against him. There were many ways of getting money in a country which had made a stout resistance to

Caesar, and he had handed it over to Sallust to reduce to order. Kritz, who rejects both the testimony of the Declamator, and of Dion, does not do his client's case any good by the way in which he handles it. The Declamator, he says, has no evidence to give of Sallust's dishonesty except the fact that he brought great wealth from the province and made himself liable to be prosecuted for 'Repetundae.' Those, he adds, who believe this stupid writer, must be considered quite ignorant of Roman affairs or to have bad memories. 'Who is ignorant,' he says, 'that the great wealth with which Rome abounded, did not come from the city itself, but from the provinces?' The answer is, every body knew that, and of course the Declamator knew it too; and he said that Sallust's money did come from the province. 'Every body,' says Kritz, 'who governed a province came home rich,'—but I could tell him some exceptions; 'nor, according to Roman notions, was this considered to be dishonourable or punishable.' Of course, as Kritz says, the governor was punishable for all illegal acts, for robbery, cruelty, and the like: 'but every body,' he further says, 'knew that a provincial governor was legally entitled to something out of the provincial revenues. Nor was this inconsistent with the nature of the case, for as the provincial governors were in the place of the kings, who were in all countries supported at the great cost of their subjects, it was not considered disgraceful, nor was it disgraceful, if the governors, imitating the kings, carried back to Rome the wealth which they had got in one year's government.' Kritz defends the alleged rapacity of Sallust by the universal rapacity, falsely assumed, of all Roman governors. But the question is not, if Sallust did exactly what all or most Roman governors did, but whether he who preached a virtuous life and contempt of

wealth, was as bad as many others. That is the reproach which has been made against him. As to the comparison between greedy kings, who spent their revenue in some way among their own people, and Roman governors who in a single year drew a princely fortune out of the same unhappy people, every annual governor, according to Kritz's explanation, making a huge sum in one year, and carrying it off, 'who is ignorant' that the two cases are as unlike as a heavy regular taxation of a country, and the plunder of the same country by an invading army, coming every year and followed every year by another?

The Catilina is probably Sallust's first historical work, and we may conjecture that it was written after Caesar's death, though some critics have supposed that it was written before. Sallust does not tell us when he wrote it nor what authorities he used; but as he was a young man at the time of the conspiracy, about twenty-three, he could not fail to know the principal facts, and he must have talked with many who were well acquainted with them; M. Crassus, for instance, whom he mentions (c. 48). There were the Acta Publica also, and the resolutions of the Senate, all which were public records and easily accessible. He must have known Cicero, and he had Cicero's orations before him and other writings of the orator, and also Cato's speech on the punishment of the conspirators (Cat. c. 52, the end). He has omitted some facts, which are mentioned by Cicero, Plutarch, Dion Cassius, and Asconius, the commentator on Cicero. A modern writer, Constantius Felicius Durantinus[1], has attempted to supply the omissions of Sallust.

Even those who admire the Catilina, admit that the author is not exact as to dates, and that he has not

[1] It is a Latin History of the Conspiracy of Catilina, and dedicated to Pope Leo X. It is printed in Frotscher's edition of Sallust and elsewhere.

always stated facts so precisely as he might have done; but they also say that ancient writers generally are not so careful about the chronology and smaller matters as modern writers are. Sallust has also been charged with unfairness towards Cicero, but this charge is not just. Cicero certainly would not have been satisfied with the historian's brief notice of his services in suppressing the conspiracy, but nobody can say that Sallust has treated him unfairly.

Some modern writers have thought that there is a great mystery in this affair of the conspiracy, and that we have not got the whole story. But Sallust has made it plain enough. Rome, always a military state, began to recruit her armies in Marius' time from the lowest class, and foreign mercenaries were hired in great numbers. The Romans had also to maintain a desperate struggle to keep the Germanic nations out of Italy, and it was necessary to continue Marius in command for several years. Even before Marius' time the same man had commanded the armies of Rome for years together in foreign parts. In such a state as Rome a general who had long been at the head of victorious armies was a dangerous citizen. The quarrels between Marius and Sulla ended in a military despotism, and from this time the soldier was the master of Rome. Sulla shed blood without mercy, confiscated property, and gave his soldiers money and lands. He died in B.C. 78, but the mischief that he did died not with him. He left a bad example and a number of men behind him, who, having wasted their ill-gotten wealth, wanted more, and revolution was the only way of getting it. There was a dissolute nobility, many of them poor and in debt, men who loved luxury and had no hope of mending their circumstances. There were noble women too, profligate and greedy,

ready to encourage any bold disturber of the peace and share the profit with him. It is no wonder that in such a state of society, where, besides the dissolute rich who were impoverished, there was also a large body of destitute citizens in Rome, that an insolvent patrician should attempt to do again what Sulla had done. Republican states are most exposed to such designs when they have become corrupted. Rome was a mixed oligarchal and democratic constitution, but in Catilina's time the few had the power, and yet Catilina found it impossible to reach the highest honours of the state, for which it is hard to find a sufficient reason, except that he was hated and feared by the people and also by the nobility to which he belonged. It was truly said by Hobbes that Thucydides 'saith that among the few every one desireth to be chief, and they that are undervalued, bear it with less patience than in a democracy, whereupon sedition followeth and dissolution of the government.' So Catilina and his desperate associates attempted to overthrow the few. It was a conspiracy of insolvents, neither the first nor the last that history has recorded. It failed for want of capacity in the conspirators, not for want of opportunity, for the opportunity was great. Caesar did what Catilina wished to do, but he did it in a different way.

In a few brief chapters (Cat. 36—39), Sallust has well described the wretched condition of the Roman State at this time. It is one of the best parts of his extant writings, precise and forcibly written. He is not blamable for not making a longer story of the conspiracy, but he merits censure for his introduction, for some careless passages, some inaccuracies, and some omissions. On the other hand he has the merit of doing the thing short and not wearying us as some modern historians do, who write as if a history were to be valued by its length.

The Jugurtha or Bellum Jugurthinum was selected by Sallust as a subject of great variety and interest, and as an epoch memorable for the commencement of that attack on the power of the nobility which ended in the civil wars, the devastation of Italy, and the establishment of that imperial power which Sallust did not live to see, though he must have seen that it was coming. He would find materials in the public records at Rome and in various contemporary writers. M. Aemilius Scaurus, to whom Sallust gives a bad character and Cicero a good one, wrote three books of his memoirs. He could have told something about his own intrigues with Jugurtha, if he chose. P. Rutilius Rufus, the legatus of Metellus in Africa, wrote his memoirs in five books and also a Roman history in Greek, from which Plutarch quotes a passage in which Rufus affirmed that Marius got his sixth consulship by bribery. It is probable that this work and Rufus' Memoirs contained some notice of the Jugurthine war. The historian Sisenna, whom Sallust mentions (Jug. c. 95), wrote the civil war of Sulla, and we may assume that he said something of Sulla's early life and of his services in the war against Jugurtha. There were also the Memoirs of Sulla, who was working at them two days before his death, and died when he was on the twenty-second book. All these men lived at the time of the Jugurthine war and were active in public affairs. Sallust's authority for some of the early history of Africa was the Punic books of King Hiempsal, which somebody translated or explained to him. The chapter of Orosius which is referred to in a note on Jug. c. 37, proves that Orosius had other materials for his short sketch besides Sallust.

Sallust had been in Africa and was governor of Numidia after the end of the African war; but his history

does not show any exact acquaintance with the country. As a military history it is of no value. His chronology is confused; his description of the military operations is sometimes unintelligible; he often omits the names of places, when the names would be the only means of making the story clear. He does not tell us which way the armies are moving, and gives us no notion of distances, and generally a very vague description of the ground. If his materials furnished him with exact information, he used them very carelessly or very badly. He had no talent at all for writing the history of a war. As we have however no other history of this war, his work is valuable, and if we overlook its defects as a military history, we must allow that Sallust has sketched in a rapid and lively way the career of the bold Numidian adventurer from the time of his service under Scipio in Spain to his capture by a Roman more cunning and more treacherous than himself.

Sallust also wrote Historiae, and he wrote them after he wrote the Jugurthine war (Jug. c. 95). It is concluded from the extant fragments that the histories comprised twelve years, from the death of Sulla B.C. 78 to the end of B.C. 67. Some critics think that the passage in Ausonius (Id. iv.) shows that Sallust's Histories began with B.C. 90, the date of the Marsic war. Whether he wrote a regular history of the period from B.C. 90 to B.C. 78 or not, it is very probable that he wrote some sketch or outline of this period as an introduction to the history of the twelve years from B.C. 78 to the end of B.C. 67. The fragments of Sallustius' Histories are arranged in five books and contained what follows (Kritz). The First book contained the disturbance which Lepidus caused after Sulla's death, the war with Sertorius in Spain till the arrival of Cn. Pompeius;

the Macedonian war under Appius Claudius; and the expedition of P. Servilius against the pirates. The Second book contained the war of Sertorius against Cn. Pompeius and Metellus in Spain; the Macedonian war under Curio, the continuation of the war with the pirates under Servilius, the beginning of the third Mithridatic war, and the contest in Rome for the restoration of the tribunitian authority, or the freedom of public meetings and public speaking, for in that lay the main matter. The Third book contained the end of the Spanish war by the death of Sertorius, the continuation of the Mithridatic war, the advance of Curio in Macedonia as far as the Danube, the bad conduct of the war against the pirates under M. Antonius, the Servile war of Spartacus in Italy, and the continuance of the disputes in Rome about the tribunitian power. The Fourth book contained the victories over Mithridates by Lucullus; the end of the Thracian war, and of the Servile war; and the restoration of the tribunitian power in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius B.C. 70. The Fifth book contained the continuance of Lucullus' campaign against Mithridates, and ended with the Lex Manilia (B.C. 66), which gave to Cn. Pompeius the command in the Mithridatic war.

The matter contained in these five books is a very instructive part of Roman History, and the loss of them is much to be regretted, even if the Histories were not better than the Catilina and Jugurtha. Some of the Fragments of these several books are considerable and very useful. The Fragments are printed in many editions.

Suetonius tells us (de Illust. Gram. c. 10) that Atteius Philologus furnished Sallust with a 'breviarium' or epitome of the events of Roman history for him to select from what he wanted. This seems very likely, for Sal-

lust's two extant works plainly show what his notion of historical composition was: the style was for him the first thing. It is very probable that a rich man, who did not love patient research, would employ some poor man of letters to do the hard work of getting the facts together, and such labour is done in our days. If we could only have all the facts laid before us without any trouble, we might all write history, and it would be a pleasant occupation enough, and not very laborious. But some would do it better than others, and there are men who would do it very badly even with this help.

Sallust got a great reputation among the Romans as an historian. Tacitus, who seems to have studied his style, names him 'rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor' (Ann. iii. 30), the exact meaning of which I do not know. Rome had many history writers before Sallust, from Cincius Alimentus and Fabius Pictor to Sallust's own contemporaries Macer and Sisenna. We have nothing of all these writers except a few fragments. They wrote, as it is assumed, in the annalistic style, carefully registering the events of each year, but not making a continuous narrative which should please and instruct by showing the connexion of cause and event. However, if they did their work well, they were very useful men; and if Sallust had done his work in that way, it would have been more useful to us. We should have lost his historical composition, and we should have gained the facts. Even Caesar, who had written before Sallust, did not affect to write history. He only wrote Commentarii or Memoirs, out of which a history might have been made; but most fortunately nobody has done it.

Sallust then appears as the earliest Roman historian in the sense in which history was then understood, and

in which it is generally conceived now. He has explained what he considered historical writing to be, and he has left two specimens of it. It is not the place here to discuss what history should be. People may give to a word like History almost any meaning that they choose. Hobbes, in his address to his readers prefixed to his translation of Thucydides, has said very plainly and clearly how he understands history. Sallust no doubt imitated or supposed that he was imitating Greek models; and histories such as he has written are very good things, when they are done well. But to do them well, it is not enough to take facts at second hand. The labour of collecting the facts and weighing the evidence is part of an historian's work, and if he does it carefully, he will see what facts are material for the purpose which he has in hand, what may be omitted as not material, and how the facts must be ordered so that they stand in their true relation to one another, which includes the regard to time; and by this careful examination and ordering of the facts, he will make the instruction, which is the purpose of history, flow from the facts themselves, and will thus lay bare those hidden truths which are immersed in the multitude of events, and will show what causes have produced those effects which in the annalist appear as simple, unconnected facts. Sallust did not do this part of the labour of an historian, and, if we allow him the merit of style, even more than he deserves, we cannot assent to the absurd judgment of Velleius and Quintilian, who compare him to Thucydides, to the best historian that ever wrote.

The editions of Sallust are numerous. The first was at Rome, 1470, folio. The last will never be, if we form a conjecture from the continual appearance of editions from 1470 to the present time. The editions are counted

by hundreds. The translations are very numerous, Spanish, French, English, Dutch, German, Danish, Italian, and probably others. The Italian, when it is well handled, is the best language for translating Latin. The latest Italian translation that I know is by Vittorio Alfieri. He mistakes the meaning of Sallust sometimes, but he has well rendered the original in his close and vigorous style.

Of Lives of Sallust too there are plenty. I have used and referred to that by Kritz, which is prefixed to his edition of Sallust. There is a long tedious life of Sallust in French by the President de Brosses, a man of learning. I would hardly advise any man to read it. The chance is, that if he began it he would not finish.

I have used Cort's edition of Sallust, Leipzig, 1724; Allen's, London, 1832; Jacobs', Berlin, 1855, with German notes; and Kritz's, Leipzig, 1856, with Latin notes; and I have got something good from all of them, as the references in the notes will show. I have no doubt that other editions also contain good things, which I have missed for want of looking after them; but if a man uses a very great number of books, it is likely that his work will not be the better for it. Every edition may contain something good which is not in another edition. But if a man has any thing of his own to offer, he had better be content with a few good books to help him and trust to himself for the rest, or not undertake the work at all.

I do not see how the history of the Jugurthine war can be made clear to young students. Certainly Sallust's narrative is very far from being clear. If a teacher could give to his pupils some exact notions of the kind of country in which this war was carried on, that would help a little. There are many books on Algeria, written since the French occupation, and some on Tunis; but

one cannot expect boys, nor teachers either, to get French or other books in order to help them to understand Sallust's Jugurthine War. However, if a man does know any thing about the character of the part of North Africa in which the campaign against Jugurtha was conducted, it will help him to make the story plainer to himself and his pupils. Among the most recent books is Mr. Blakesley's Four Months in Algeria, 1859, which will give a student some useful information on the nature of this part of the African continent.

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Brighton College,
Feb. 22, 1860.

CATILINA.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

(FROM KRITZ.)

A.V.C.	A.C.	
646	108	Birth of Catilina (c. 5).
666	88	Catilina a partizan of L. Sulla in the Civil War (c. 5).
681	73	Catilina tried for 'stuprum' with a Vestal (c. 15).
687	67	Catilina propraetor of the Provincia Africa.
688	66	Catilina returns from his Provincia about the middle of summer and is prevented from being a candidate for the consulship by a resolution of the Senate.
—	—	Catilina about the close of the year forms his first conspiracy with P. Autronius and Cn. Piso (c. 18).
689	65	This conspiracy was broken up in February (c. 18).
—	—	Cn. Piso quaestor pro praetore is made governor of Spain (c. 19).
—	—	Catilina is prosecuted for Repetundae by P. Clodius, and is acquitted. He is unable to be a candidate for the consulship.
690	64	Catilina forms another conspiracy about the 1st of June (c. 17).
—	—	Catilina is a candidate for the consulship for B.C. 63, and loses his election (c. 24).
691	63	Catilina at the close of the year is preparing for his revolutionary attempts (c. 24).
—	—	On the xii. Kal. Nov. (21 Oct.) by a Senatus consultum the consular comitia which had been fixed for the xi. Kal. Nov. (22 Oct.) are deferred to the v. Kal. Nov. (28 Oct.)
—	—	On the xi. Kal. Nov. (22 Oct.) the Senate empower the consuls to protect the State (c. 29).
—	—	On the vi. Kal. Nov. (27 Oct.) Manlius takes up arms in Etruria (c. 30).
—	—	The consular comitia for B.C. 62 are held on the v. Kal. Nov. (28 Oct.), and Catilina who is a candidate is rejected (c. 26).
—	—	Catilina prepares for war with the aid of C. Manlius (c. 27).
—	—	The Senate raises troops (c. 30).
—	—	Alarm in Rome from the 28 Oct. to 9 Nov. (c. 31.)
—	—	On the night which was between viii. and vii. Id. Nov. (6 and 7 Nov.) the conspirators meet at M. Laeca's house (c. 27).
—	—	On the same night a design is formed for assassinating Cicero on the following morning (c. 28).

A.V.C.	A.C.	
691	63	On the night between vii. and vi. Id. Nov. (7 and 8 Nov.) there is another meeting of the conspirators.
—	—	On the following day, vi. Id. Nov. (8 Nov.), Cicero delivered in the Senate his first oration against Catilina (c. 31).
—	—	On the night between the vi. and v. Id. Nov. (8 and 9 Nov.) Catilina left the city (c. 32).
—	—	On the following day, v. Id. Nov. (9 Nov.), Cicero delivered before the people his second oration against Catilina.
—	—	Catilina after leaving the city writes letters on the road, in which he attempts to conceal his intentions (c. 34).
—	—	Catilina and Manlius are declared enemies by a Senatus consultum (c. 36).
—	—	Disturbances in various parts of Italy are checked by Q. Metellus Celer and C. Murena (c. 42).
—	—	The chiefs of the conspiracy who are in Rome attempt to gain over the ambassadors of the Allobroges (c. 40).
—	—	On the night between iv. and iii. Non. Dec. (2 and 3 Dec.) the Allobroges are arrested with the letters of the conspirators on them (c. 45).
—	—	On the iii. Non. Dec. (3 Dec.) the conspirators being convicted in the Senate are given into 'custodia libera' (c. 46).
—	—	On the same day in the evening Cicero delivered before the people his third oration against Catilina (c. 48).
—	—	On iv. Non. Dec. (4 Dec.) the Senate meet to reward the Allobroges (c. 50).
—	—	On the Non. Dec. (5 Dec.) the Senate deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators (c. 50—53).—Cicero delivered before the Senate his fourth oration against Catilina.
—	—	On the same day the five conspirators who had been arrested are strangled in the Tullianum (c. 55).
692	62	Catilina who had been in Etruria for about three months with his troops is defeated near Pistoria by M. Petreius, and Catilina is killed (c. 60).

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

CATILINA.

1. OMNIS homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est; animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus glo-

1—4. The first four chapters contain the author's reflections on the nature of man, on the difficulty of writing history, and the reasons which led him to write history.

1. *Omnis*] This form of the plural accusative ('omnis') of certain words is used in Sallust's text. But it only occurs in nouns, adjectives and participles in which the crude form ends in *i*, as 'avi' ('avis'), 'omni' ('omnis'). The complete form is 'omneis.' See Key's Latin Gr. 136. 2nd ed.—'qui sese student:' 'studium,' says Cicero (de Invent. i. 25), "is the persevering and strong employment of the mind directed to some object with great resolution." The pronoun 'sese' marks the contrast between 'themselves' (men) and other animals: 'men who make it their object to be superior to all other animals.'—'silentio transeant:' pass their lives 'in silence,' means 'without being spoken of;' comp. c. 2, "de utraque siletur." Sallust proposes no other object for our exertions than fame, which consists in being talked of by men.—'prona:' with their heads down to the earth, as Ovid, Met. i. 84, says,

"Pronaque quum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit caelumque tueri."

But some animals, birds for instance, only turn their faces to the earth when they pick up something from it; and the man who tills the ground must turn his face downwards. In fact all who labour must look earthward. But a gentleman like Sallust did not know what labour was.

Sed nostra] 'But our complete energy is in the mind and body;' not in the body only, as in animals, he means to say.—'alterum . . . alterum:' 'the one (animi imperio utimur) we have in common with the gods, the other (corporis servitio magis utimur) in common with brutes.' He says that the understanding is that which distinguishes a man from a beast, and is that faculty by which man is partaker of the divine nature. The possession of reason, which is the faculty of knowing what is true and good, and the possession of liberty, which is the faculty of doing what is true and good, distinguish a man from a beast.

Quo mihi rectius] 'Wherefore I

riam quaerere, et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxume longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis [est], virtus clara aeternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias, consulto, et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

think (mihi videtur) that it is more right,' he means more consistent, 'to strive for glory with the powers of the mind than with those of the body.' The word 'quo' refers to the preceding sentence in which the superiority of the mind over the body is affirmed. 'Gloriam,' glory, is the same as Cicero's glory. It is 'fama' (c. 2), men's praise; and if we get that, we do not pass our lives in silence (c. 1).—'qua fruimur:' these words have been explained in different ways. 'Life itself' is short, and therefore we should strive to make the remembrance of us lasting. 'Life' and 'the remembrance of us' are opposed to one another. There is no doubt that 'qua fruimur' contains the idea of the body: it is in and by the body that we live this life that we have. But 'fruimur,' I think, does not mean simply 'we enjoy.' It means 'life of which we have the enjoyment or the use, not a lasting possession.' As the poet says,

"Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu."—Lucretius iii. 985.

In this sense the Romans use 'ususfructus,' and sometimes both 'usus' and 'fructus' as two separate words. He has a 'ususfructus,' who has the fruits ('fructus') of a thing during his life, without having the ownership. If this is not the sense, Sallust means no more by the words 'qua fruimur' than the 'life itself which we have and enjoy;' but as he speaks of 'virtus' as a lasting possession, it seems as if he spoke of life in the sense which I have suggested.

nostri] Kritz says that 'nostri' is the genitive singular of the possessive pronoun. Cicero remarks (Phil. ix. 5), "The life of the dead is in the remembrance of the living." "Since the life that we have," says Sallust, "is short, we must make our memory endure as long as we can, and by doing something which will make men remember us." This leads to the word 'Nam,' which means this, 'Now (nam) the glory of wealth and of beauty is fleeting and perishable: virtue is an illustrious and eternal possession.' 'Nam' is no word of inference here, and does not mean 'for.' 'Habetur' has its literal sense, 'it is had,' or 'he who has virtue has an illustrious and lasting possession.'

Sallust's 'virtus' is the Roman 'virtus,' the manly virtue, of which a great part is the devotion to the fatherland. It is not our 'virtue' in a religious or moral sense; and it was a virtue which existed with many vices. Cicero (Tusc. ii. 18) says, "appellata est enim ex viro virtus: viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo."

Sed diu] 'Sed' refers to his remark, 'Quo mihi rectius,' &c. That is the author's opinion, 'but it was long a great dispute' whether it was so.—'mortalis:' this is a more general term than 'homines,' and Sallust often uses it.

consulto—facto opus est] 'Consulto,' 'deliberation,' 'prudent plan;' 'facto,' 'action.' These participial forms are used like nouns.

utrumque—alterum alterius] 'So

2. Igitur initio reges, nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit, divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; etiamtum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurumum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile his artibus

each in itself being deficient, the one requires the aid of the other.'

2. *Igitur*] Sallust puts this word first in affirmative propositions. 'Igitur' refers to what is said (c. 1), "Sed diu . . . procederet."—'divorsi:' literally 'turned in different or opposite directions.' So in Jug. c. 12, "divorsi regem quaerere," &c., and Caesar, B. G. ii. 22; vii. 74. Our word 'different' does not express the meaning.

After saying 'reges... divorsi,' he distributes the 'reges' into two classes, 'pars,' 'alii,' as in Jug. c. 57 (Kritz). — 'etiamtum:' 'even then human life was passed without covetousness' ('cupiditate'), for 'every man was satisfied with what he had.' A happy time, a remnant of the golden age, which will never return.

Cyrus] The founder of the Persian monarchy, B.C. 559. Cyrus' conquests extended westward to the Aegean. He captured Sardis B.C. 546. Sallust says nothing of the great Asiatic empires which preceded the Persian.

The Lacedaemonians had a kind of supremacy in Greece after the defeat of Xerxes and the Persians, B.C. 480, but it soon passed to the Athenians. Sallust alludes to this as well as to the subsequent history of Athens and Sparta, and their attempts to extend their dominion; but his remarks are vague, and we learn nothing from them.—'habere:' 'they began to have the desire of dominion a cause of war,' which means, 'the desire which they had for dominion became itself a cause of war.'—'negotiis:' 'negotium,' the opposite of 'otium,' is 'action.'

Quod si] Kritz observes that when 'quod si' serves to connect propositions, 'quod' is the accusative absolute. It is an accusative certainly, as many passages show, but it depends on the verb which follows it. Here 'quod' depends on 'valeret,' and the meaning is, 'Now if the mental energy of kings and men in authority had shown this (quod) in peace as in war.' 'Quod' is not put for 'sed,' as some critics tell us. When it is rightly understood, it may be either rendered by the German 'nun,' says Kritz, or it cannot be rendered by any single word. The English word 'now' perhaps expresses it pretty well.

artibus] We have no exact word for this. 'Ars,' 'artes,' is something which is attained by practice founded on some principle; and this something may be good or bad. In c. 3 Sallust speaks of 'malae artes.' Here we may say, 'For dominion is kept by the exercise of these same qualities by which at first it is got.'

retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari facinoris aut

fortuna] Not simply 'fortune' in the common sense of the word, but the condition or state of a country; like 'maxuma fortuna' in c. 51.

Quae—arant] The accusative 'quae' depends on the three verbs. 'All that men do when they plough or cultivate the ground, navigate the sea, raise buildings, is obedient to virtue, cannot be done without virtue,' that is, 'without energy, or some mental superiority.'

indocti] 'Untaught, without knowledge.' 'Incultique' seems to mean without those external qualities which would come from being taught. See c. 48, 'cultu corporis.'—'transiere:' 'transegere,' Cort.

contra naturam] He uses an expression which is borrowed from the philosophical language of the Greeks, and is much used by the Stoics, who say that man should live according to nature; and nature means the constitution of man and his relation to the world in which he lives. It is not contrary to nature for the body to feel pleasure, for if it were contrary to nature, it would not be so. The enjoyment of the senses is natural or according to nature; but there is a limit set to this enjoyment by nature herself, or by the exercise of the natural faculties of reason and free will. (See c. 1.) To enjoy within limits is to live according to nature, and to enjoy without respect to our reasonable faculties is contrary to nature, and we must assume that this is what the author meant; for after saying 'whose body is their delight,' he adds, 'and their reasonable faculty is a burden,' in which it is implied that the reasonable faculty is not employed as it ought to be to direct and govern the animal appetites. In this passage 'anima' must have the meaning of 'animus.'

juxta] An adverbial form akin to the participle 'junctus,' and containing the root 'jug.'—'juxta aestimo:' 'I value equally.' Comp. Jug. c. 85.—'siletur:' an impersonal form, 'nothing is said about.' But the Romans also said 'ea res siletur.' Cicero, pro Flacco, c. 3, and elsewhere.

Verum enimvero] 'Enim' is strengthened by the addition of 'vero,' and there is also 'vero' before it in the form of 'verum.' Sallust has it again c. 20.—'frui anima:' this, says Kritz, is opposed to 'anima oneri fuit.' This may be so, but it also means 'to have the real use of our reasonable faculties.'

intentus] On the stretch like a strung bow, and hence it means 'kept active,' 'on the alert.' It is sometimes used absolutely as in c. 6; sometimes with a dative, which expresses the object to which the effort is directed; and sometimes, as it is

artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

3. Pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et actorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt; dehinc quia plerique, quae delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia et invidia dicta putant; ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adulescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad

here, with an ablative ('aliquo negotio'), which expresses the means by which the activity is sustained.

in magna copia] A very common use of 'in' in Caesar and Cicero. It means, 'since there is so great an abundance of things.' See Jug. c. 74. Caesar (B. G. i. 33), "in tanto imperio populi Romani."

3. *bene dicere*] He means both speaking and writing, as it seems.—'absurdum:' it is difficult to ascertain the original sense of this word. Cicero (de Divin. c. 9) quotes a line in which 'absurdo sono' occurs, and it appears to mean inarticulate sound, or sound which conveys no meaning to men's ears. Here 'haud absurdum,' which means 'no insignificant thing,' is a way of expressing more than the simple words convey. Sallust has 'absurdum' again c. 25.—'vel pace vel bello:' 'either by the arts of peace or of war,' you may choose which you like. There is no preposition 'in' as in c. 2, for this reason, as Kritz remarks, that Sallust does not mean 'in peace or in war,' as some have supposed.

arduum] Gellius (iv. 15), who quotes the passage "Ac mihi quidem . . . pro falsis ducit," says that 'arduum' here does not mean 'difficult' only, but "molestum quoque et incommodum et intractabile," by which Sallust intends to say that history writing brings sharp and unjust censure on the historian: and we may add that it often brings sharp and just censure.—'facta dictis exaequanda:' there is no difficulty in understanding what he intends to say, but it is hard to express it: 'acts must have their complete equivalent in words.'—'quae delicta:' 'the things which you censure as faults.'—'aequo animo:' 'without any disturbance of temper,' of their usual state of mind.—'supra ea:' these two words are the object of 'ducit,' and taken together they make an accusative.

This passage, Jacobs remarks, is an imitation of what Pericles says in Thucydides (ii. 35), "the praises which are uttered about others are endured so far as every man considers himself able to do any of the things which he has heard; but men begin by envying and end by not believing what is beyond this (τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν)." These last words are represented by Sallust's 'supra ea.'

adulescentulus] See the Life of Sallust.—'studio latus sum:' 'I was carried by my eagerness into public life,' as we say. 'Studio' here is

rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; ac me, quum ab reliquis malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat.

4. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium secordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero agrum colendo aut venando servilibus officiis intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, uti quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione quam verissume potero paucis absolvam; nam

the opposite of deliberation and judgment. The Romans also said 'accedere ad rem publicam' in a like sense.—'ibique:' this refers to 'ad rem publicam,' and is the same as if he had said 'in eaque.'

insolens—artium] 'Unused to vicious ways.'—'ambitione—tenebatur:' 'was held fast by the corruption of ambition.' It does not mean, 'was held fast, because it was corrupted by ambition.'—'cupido—vexabat:' 'the desire of high office in the state (honoris), brought to me the same torment from ill report and envy as to the rest,' who deserved it for other faults, which he has mentioned ('audacia, largitio, avaritia'). The author tells us that he was better than other men. He is a Pharisee. Cort reads, 'honoris cupido, eadem quae caeteros fama atque invidia vexabat;' where 'eadem' is the nominative and agrees with 'fama' and 'invidia.'

4. *ex multis*] 'From and after many sufferings,' as we may say. *After Caesar's* death and the troubles which followed, he determined ('decrevi') to retire from public life.—'neque vero—colendo:' 'nor yet.' It is something added, which is different from what goes before ('secordia atque desidia'). He speaks of agriculture and hunting as work for slaves, without making a distinction between slaves who did the hard work and masters who directed. The old Romans loved agriculture, and even Cicero (de Off. i. 12) says, "nihil est agricultura melius . . . nihil homine libero dignius," where he means agriculture as an occupation for a gentleman. Hunting also was the amusement of a Roman gentleman. This remark gives us a measure of Sallust's character. —'serv. off.:' "Recte Scholiast. Harl. 4, quae sunt officia corporis: supra c. 1, animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur." (Allen.) But I doubt if this is the true explanation.—'carptim:' 'in portions or parts,' not a complete history of Rome.

absolvam] 'I will treat,' as we

id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. Lucius Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae, supra quam cui-

say, meaning he will begin and he will finish. The ordinary use of 'absolvere' in this sense is with an accusative, as in Jug. c. 17.—'facinus:' Jacobs says that Sallust always uses 'facinus' alone in a bad sense.

De cujus hominis] 'Hominis' is emphatic, 'about the man's character.' Caesar and Cicero often use the word in this sense. It is not a term of censure or praise, though it may mean either, but it marks emphatically the man who is spoken of. Allen very injudiciously omits 'hominis.'—'prius — quam — faciam:' Kritz explains 'faciam,' which is the conjunctive, as he says; but his explanation is not clear. Allen has 'facio,' the reading of one of the best MSS., and probably the true reading. He compares Jug. 5, "prius quam . . . expedio;" and Cicero (Phil. ii. 1), "Cui prius quam de ceteris respondeo."

5. *Lucius—genere*] His name was L. Sergius Catilina. The Sergia was an ancient patrician gens, whose origin Virgil (Aen. v. 121) derives from Sergestus:

"Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo
Sergia nomen."

His family was 'nobilis,' though none of them had reached the consulate, but his great grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, was 'praetor urbanus' in B.C. 197. Silus fought in the second Punic War, and having lost his right hand, he had an iron hand made. He was the most obstinate fighter of all men on record. There is a denarius with a head of Roma Victrix on one side, and on the reverse a horseman with the head of an enemy in his left hand, and under it the inscription, 'M. Sergi Silus.' (Plin. N. H. vii. c. 28, and Harduin's note.)—'ingenio malo pravoque:' 'of a bad and perverse character.' 'Ingenium' is the peculiar character of a man's 'animus.'

bella intestina, caedes] He alludes to the Social War (B.C. 90), and to the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. In the time of Sulla's proscriptions, Catilina, it is said, murdered M. Marius Gratidianus, a friend of M. Cicero, who had been twice praetor, and carried the man's head in his hand through the streets of Rome. But the thing is hardly credible. Catilina was also charged with murdering his own brother. There is no doubt that Catilina was one of the active agents in Sulla's proscriptions.—'ibique:' this word as usual refers to what has gone before, and means the same as 'iisque in rebus.' See c. 3.

supra quam] 'More than.' Comp. Jug. c. 24. The Romans said also 'ultra quam' (Horace, Ep. i. 6, 16). Cicero's character of Catilina (pro M. Caelio, c. 5 and 6) may be compared with Sallust's. But when Cicero spoke for Caelius, his object was to represent Catilina as having some virtues or the appearance of them, in order to explain Caelius' intimacy with him. Both Cicero and Sallust labour too much at portrait painting to be trusted in what they say of Catilina.

quam credibile. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujus rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator; alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Luci Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reli-

simulator ac dissimulator] 'Which could put on the semblance of any thing or dissemble any thing.' If the words refer to 'animus,' they are used like adjectives, as 'contemptor' (Jug. 64). But they may refer to Catilina, as 'appetens,' and 'profusus' certainly do.

Vastus animus] 'His mind which knew no bounds.' 'Vastus' is wide, huge, immeasurable, like the ocean (Caesar, B. G. iii. 9 and 12).

dominationem] Sulla's tyranny, which he exercised after overthrowing the opposite faction, was an example to Catilina.—'capiundae:' seizing supreme power ('regnum'). As Rome had once submitted to a tyrant, Catilina might hope that Rome would submit again to any man who was bold enough to attempt a revolution.—'quicquam pensi:' 'he never considered at all,' he took no reckoning of the ways in which he might accomplish this. Any way would do, if it succeeded. 'Quicquam pensi' may be compared with 'nihil reliqui' and other like forms. 'Pensum,' the participle of 'pendere,' is that 'which is weighed.'

animus ferox] His violent temper. 'Ferocitas,' says Cicero (de Sen. 10), is the characteristic of 'juvenes:' it is 'impetuosity.'—'quae utraque:' the usual expression would be 'quorum utrumque.' So he says, c. 34, 'hi utrique' instead of 'horum uterque.'

divorsa inter se mala] 'Vices, mutually opposed to one another.' Luxury and avarice are opposites to one another, but not to many other things. Luxury and avarice, he says, were destroying ('vexabant,' 'tearing in pieces') Roman morals.

hortari—repetere] The usual form would be 'ut repetam.' In Jug. 24 there is 'scribere dehortatur:' and there are also in Sallust, as Jacobs observes, examples of 'monere,' 'postulare,' with an infinitive. 'Supra repetere,' 'to go back to past time.' So the Romans said 'altius, longius repetere.'—'instituta . . . disserere:' 'to speak of the behaviour of our ancestors.' Our word 'institutions' is not exactly the equivalent of 'instituta,' which are habits or usages founded on a principle. 'Quo modo' &c., and 'ut paulatim' &c. also depend on 'disserere:' 'in what way they held and administered the state;' for one word will not express 'habuerint.'

querint, ut paulatim immutata ex pulcherruma pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta sit, disserere.

6. Urbem Romam, sicut ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare; pauci ex amicis

6. *sicut ego accepi*] He tells a story of Aeneas and his Trojans settling in Italy, and he makes Aeneas the founder of Rome. He says nothing of Romulus.—'habuere:' see Jug. c. 18; and Tacit. Ann. i. 1, "Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere."—'sedibus incertis:' 'having no settled abode,' a kind of absolute ablative very common in Latin.

incredibile] After telling a story of Rome being founded by Trojans and barbarous natives of Italy, a story which he himself gave no credit to, he speaks of the rapid union of these two races, as if it were a fact. Incredible indeed it is, and there is no example in history of two such peoples uniting to form a political community. Sallust followed Cato's Origines quoted by Servius (ad Aen. i. 10), "primo Italiam tenuisse quosdam qui appellabantur Aborigines: hos postea adventu Aeneae Phrygibus junctos Latinos uno nomine nuncupatos."

res eorum] Their State, just as they said, 'res Romana,' 'res publica,' and in Jug. c. 18, 'res Persarum.'—'sicuti . . . habentur:' these words refer to what follows. They mean, 'on such terms most human things are held.'—'invidia:' Kritz observes that 'invidia' is here to be taken passively, as it is the envy of which the Romans were the object, not envy which they felt. He quotes Cicero (Tusc. iv. 7), who says, "invidia non in eo qui invidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo cui invidetur," and Cicero says that for this reason he uses the less common word 'invidentia' to denote envy. Envy of course implies two persons at least, him who envies and him who is envied; but the feeling of envy is limited to him who envies, and he who is the object of it has no corresponding feeling and may be ignorant that he is envied. 'Invidia' then when it is applied to him who is envied means something else, which is connected with envy as a consequence; for the envious man is spiteful and tries to bring down to his own level the man whom he envies, and to do this he will lie and set abroad false reports about him and so injure his good name, and then the injured man is said 'esse in invidia.' See Jug. c. 35.

bello temptare] 'To provoke, to attack them.' He omits the object or accusative 'eos.'—'a periculis aberant:' 'kept aloof from the danger;' they did not help. It is the opposite of 'adesse,' 'to help' (c. 52). Kritz compares Caesar (B. G. vi. 14), "Druides a bello abesse consueverunt."

auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitumum, nomen imperi regium habebant; delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant; hi vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque [se] convortit, immutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere; eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

intenti] Literally, 'with all their energies exerted.' See c. 2. All the vague talk in this and the next sentence tells us nothing.

Imperium legitumum] 'Legitumum' means that which is determined by laws ('leges'). It was a form of government ('imperium') founded on law, and called 'regium,' because there was a king. He means that the form of government and the powers of the several members of the sovereign body were defined.—'rei publicae consultabant:' 'deliberated about and for the state.'—'patres:' the senate. 'Senatus,' a collective term, which seems to contain the root of 'senex,' an old man. Cicero (de Re P. ii. 8) says, "principes, qui appellati sunt propter caritatem patres."

conservandae libertatis—fuerat] 'Had been established for the preservation of liberty,' or 'had served for' &c. So the genitive is often used. See c. 46, "perdundae rei publicae fore." This use of the genitive is not easy to explain. It is generally said to be a genitive of 'quality,' by which is meant that the genitive expresses the kind or nature of the thing which is spoken of.—'[se] convortit:' some editions omit 'se.' The verb may be used absolutely as in c. 52, 'in miseriam convortet,' and 'in naturam vortit,' Jug. c. 85 (Jacobs).

binosque imperatores] 'A pair of consuls.' He is speaking of the establishment of the annual consulship after the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus. The kingly government existed more than 240 years, says Cicero (de Re P. ii. 30).—'insolescere animum:' he means the mind or temper of those who exercised power. 'Licentia' has a derived sense from which we have our word 'licence,' which means unrestrained behaviour, which is careless of law or custom. 'Licentia' primarily means 'quod licet,' 'what is lawful,' or what is allowed by usage; and it may have this meaning here. They limited the consular authority to a year, by which limitation 'they thought that the temper of men would not be changed by the exercise of authority (per licentiam).' But perhaps this is not the meaning. If it is not, it means this,—they thought that the short time of office would not allow men to forget themselves by abuse of power.

7. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque [magis] extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit; tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat; sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant; laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant; gloriam

7: *se—[magis] extollere*] The exact meaning is not clear. Cort omits 'magis' before 'extollere,' and if this is done, 'se extollere' is consistent with what follows,—'Now every man began to rise up (raise himself);' and he adds, 'to show or display his character or talent more,' which could not be done under the kings, as he explains. Under the kings men were cast down, lying on the ground. When the kings were driven out, they could rise and show what they were.

adepta] In a passive sense, as it is sometimes used, Jug. c. 101; Cic. de Sen. c. 2, "eandem accusant adeptam."—'incesserat:' without any case after it, a usual form in Sallust, as 'invasere,' c. 2. Herodotus (v. 66) says that after the expulsion of the Pisistratidae Athens became greater. Liberty allows people room for activity. Sallust attributes the growth of Rome to the love of glory, which is a vague way of speaking, but it is after Roman fashion. There is however a meaning in it. Rome had a small territory and little or no commerce. Her power could only be extended by increasing her territory and her citizens, and war was the way of doing this. Rome's political and military system led her to conquer the world.

Jam primum] 'Now first of all.' —'simul ac:' Cort omits 'ac,' and it is sometimes omitted in this expression.—'lubidinem habebant:' 'had their delight.' 'Lubido' is that which gives us pleasure; and it is also the taste for that which pleases. The context will always show whether it is used in a good or a bad sense.—'sic:' 'accordingly,' 'so.' The word refers to 'sed . . . erat,' and leads us to what follows, to the consequence of this emulation for glory. The form 'se quisque . . . properabat' may be compared with 'qui sese student' (c. 1).—'eas divitias, eam bonam famam:' 'this they considered to be wealth, this to be good reputation.' He makes 'eas' and 'eam' agree with the respective nouns which follow instead of writing 'id' or 'ea.' This is very common. The pronoun takes the gender and number of the noun which is the predicate ('divitias, famam').

ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

8. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicut ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui ea fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum ea verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quisque maxume negotiosus

divitias honestas] He says, 'it was their ambition to have glory in abundance, wealth got by honourable means.' An opposition is implied by the order of his words, as much as if he had expressed the opposition by using more words.

natura munitas] 'Naturally strong,' where the position makes the chief difficulty in the attack. This is the usual expression: "oppidum egregie natura munitum," Caesar, B. G. ii. 29.

8. *fortuna*] Fortuna was personified, made a goddess and had temples at Rome. The Roman writers often speak of her doing things as if she were a real person.—'ex lubidine:' according to her pleasure or caprice. —'celebrat:' 'makes known.'

provenere] 'Grew up there,' 'flourished among them,' as we sometimes say; as if great geniuses were a natural growth of Athens. 'Ibi' refers to 'Athenienses' (see c. 3). Athens had not many historians to celebrate her great deeds, and her greatest historian, Thucydides, has told the story of her greatest defeat in the expedition to Sicily. Sallust may allude to the orators also, for they have said a *good deal* about the ancient glories of Athens; and he may even allude to the dramatists.

pro maxumis] 'As the greatest,' though they were not the greatest. Jacobs quotes Caesar (B. G. i. 22), "quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiasse."

ea copia] 'Such an abundance' of writers. Rome had no historical writer in prose before Q. Fabius Pictor who lived in the second Punic War. He brought his history down from Aeneas at least to the battle of the Thrasimenus (Liv. xxii. 7). L. Cincius Alimentus, also a contemporary of Pictor, wrote a history of Rome from the beginning to his own times. He was made prisoner by Hannibal and says that he talked with him.

prudentissumus quisque] 'All the wisest.' 'Prudentia' means sometimes 'knowledge;' for instance, knowledge of law (Cic. de Am. c. 1).—'negotiosus:' engaged in 'negotia,' in the administration of the State (Jug. c. 4). The great men of Rome were soldiers, orators, and administrators, and such men are generally too busy to write. But after the Romans had the example of Naevius, Ennius, Pictor, and Cincius Alimentus, they had many wri-

erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat: optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

9. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem

ters among their men of action. Cato the Censor was a signal example: he was soldier, farmer, orator, statesman, and writer. But Sallust had known another man more distinguished still by his talent as a man of action and a writer, his friend, the Dictator Caesar. When Sallust says 'ingenium nemo,' it may be implied that the Greek writers were not men of action. But as Allen remarks, Xenophon was, and we may add Thucydides also, and Aeschylus.

9. *jus bonumque*] Kritz says 'jus' is 'scriptum legibusque constitutum,' 'written law.' But 'jus' means 'law' generally, all law both written and unwritten. It is true, however, as he says, that 'legibus' refers to 'jus,' and 'natura' (man's nature) refers to 'bonum' ('equity'). 'Natura' is man's natural sense of good and right, which is the foundation of morality and of law.

suppliciis deorum] 'In the public service of the gods.' In this sense the word 'supplicatio' is generally used. Sallust (Jug. 55) says 'supplicia decernere.' Caesar writes (B. G. ii. 35) 'supplicatio decreta est.' 'Supplicium,' 'punishment,' is the same word, and this sense as well as the other is easily derived from the primary meaning of 'supplex.' 'Supplicium,' I believe, is never used in the sense of 'supplicatio.' But Caesar (B. G. v. 16; vii. 5) uses 'supplicia' for punishment, and other writers also.—'domi parci:' 'thrifty in their private expenditure.' Horace (Carm. ii. 15) says of the Romans of the old time:

"Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum."

in amicis] 'in amicos,' Kritz. There is authority for both; but 'in amicis,' 'in dealing with their friends,' 'in the matter of friends,' is probably the true reading. See c. 11, 'in civibus,' and c. 51, 'in illis,' quoted by Allen.

aequitate] 'Fair dealing,' to their enemies, as it is implied by the words, 'ubi pax evenerat.'

vindicatum est in eos] One of the Latin impersonal forms, which we cannot express in the same way. We can say 'those were more frequently punished, who.' But this form separates 'those' and 'who,' and does not adequately render the original. We may say, but in more words, 'in time of war the severity of military discipline was oftener applied to those, who' &c. Caesar (B. G. iii. 16) says, "in quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit." 'Vindicare' means to 'claim and maintain a right against another,' whence comes the notion of punish-

pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis quam metu imperium agitabant, et accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab

ing him (see c. 20).—'contra imperium:' as in the case of young Manlius (c. 52).—'tardius . . . excesserant:' 'who had been too slow in quitting the fight at the signal (revocati).' The signal to draw from the fight is thus expressed by Caesar (B. G. vii. 47, 48), 'receptui cani jussit,' 'signo recipiendi dato.'—'pulsi loco cedere ausi erant:' 'when hard pressed had been faint-hearted enough to leave their post.' Livy says (24, c. 14), "qui loco cessisset, in eum servili supplicio animadversum." We cannot translate 'ausi erant,' 'had dared.' It is not courage which makes a man fly, but want of it. Yet it may mean 'they were bold enough to fly,' 'they ventured to fly,' in spite of the severe punishment which awaited them. This use of 'audere' may be compared with that of τολμᾶν, τλῆναι.

beneficiis quam metu] 'Magis' or 'potius' is supposed to be understood. It is probable that 'quam persequi malebant' may have led the author to omit 'magis' in the first part of the sentence. But there are many examples of this omission of 'magis' or 'potius' in Sallust. Some editors omit it in c. 8 after 'ex lubidine,' and there are examples in c. 20, 52, and other places.

accepta injuria] 'When a wrong had been received, they would rather pardon than avenge it.' The ablative is well used, for though 'persequi' governs the accusative, 'ignoscere' has a dative.

10. *labore atque justitia*] 'By activity and justice.' Labour, activity *may have* a bad purpose as well as a good. 'Justitia' corrects the general expression: the old Romans were active and upright too. 'Justitia' is a word which every body is familiar with, and every man has some notion, often vague enough, of what it is. The Romans however had a definition of it: "Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuens" (Justin, Inst. i. tit. 1), 'it is a constant and abiding disposition giving to every man his due.' The definition is incomplete, but it is useful in directing attention to the character of 'justice' as a moral feeling. It is the disposition to give to all men what is their due.—'reges magni:' such as Pyrrhus, who invaded Italy, the kings of Macedonia, Antiochus the Great of Syria, and others.—'nationes,' 'nations,' is a more general term than 'populi,' and the addition of 'ferae' explains it. A 'natio' is a stock or race of men viewed as the inhabitants of a certain country and united by one language and common usages. Such a union implies some sort of government, but the notion of government is not expressed by 'natio.' Caesar says (B. G. v. 16), "Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus." 'Populi' are 'political communities,' such as the Populus Romanus. As Sallust has said 'reges,' which means 'kingly governments,' we may assume that 'populi' mean republics or states where there is no king.—'Carthago:' Carthage was totally destroyed by the younger Scipio Africanus in B.C. 147. After the overthrow of this powerful state

stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, his otium, divitiae optandae aliis, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari;

Rome had no rival, and a great change followed in the character of the Roman people. See Jug. c. 41.

saevire fortuna] Fortune is again represented as busy with human affairs. I suppose that he means, 'fortune began to show her strength or power.'

dubias—res] 'Circumstances of danger and hardship.'—'optandae aliis:' 'objects of desire to others, became a burden and sorrow to them.' See Jug. c. 64, "atque alia optanda bonis." He has said that the Romans had easily endured ('toleraverant') hardship and adversity. When he says that ease and wealth were a burden to them, he only means that they could not bear prosperity; and in truth most people will behave better in adversity than in prosperity. 'Others' ('aliis') means only that ease and wealth are generally desired; things which are generally objects of desire became the cause of unhappiness to the Romans. But Sallust's way of writing is bad. He affects to say common things in an uncommon way.

Igitur primo] This does not refer to what has immediately preceded, but to 'miscere omnia coepit.'

artis bonas subvortit] See c. 2. 'Uprooted,' 'threw down,' by turning up the foundation. So Columella says, "aratro lupinum subvertere," 'to plough in a crop of green lupines.'—'deos neglegere,' 'omnia venalia habere,' stand as two accusatives.

subegit] Kritz remarks that 'subegit' is not exactly like 'coegit,' which is true. If we look to the primary sense of the word, 'to push upwards from below,' we may infer that it means, 'ambition worked on many men and made them dishonest.' The men were hardly conscious that their ambition was driving them to do wrong. 'Subegit' governs all the infinitives in the sentence.—'ex re:' 'res' is so general that it may mean any thing. But it is contrasted with 'ex commodo,' 'men's interests,' and so 'non ex re' means 'not according to the real nature of the thing.'

vindicari] 'All these vices (haec) gradually increased, sometimes were punished and checked.' 'Crescere,' 'vindicari' are historical infinitives. Sallust's talk is vague.—'contagio:' he does not mean 'contagion' in our sense, for he adds, 'quasi pestilentia,' 'like a pestilence;' but he means, as contact of bodies is supposed to communicate some diseases, so communion, living together, and mutual intercourse, have a like effect. Cicero (de Divin. i. 30) explains the original sense of 'contagio:' "quum est somno sevocatus animus

post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissumo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.

11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus [et] ignavus aeque sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita, insatiabilis [est], neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam

a societate et a contagione corporis," 'from contact of the body.'

11. *Sed primo—exercebat*] He said (c. 10) that greediness grew first, and then desire of power. Here he says that at first ambition, the nobler passion, kept men's minds more actively employed ('magis exercebat'). The two passions grew up together, but ambition at first was the stronger, and it had more of the character of a virtue, was nearer (propius) a virtue.—'bonus [et] ignavus:' Cort omits 'et.'—'huic—desunt:' instead of writing 'hic,' which would correspond to 'ille,' he writes 'huic,' and makes it depend on 'desunt.'

studium habet] Sallust often uses this verb 'habere.' A literal translation will not give the meaning. A passage of Cicero (de Fin. i. 73) quoted by Jacobs helps us to the proper version, "gubernatoris ars quia bene navigandi rationem habet." So here 'avarice' consists in the eager pursuit, or avarice is the eager pursuit of money. But this would make 'studium pecuniae' and 'avaritia' the same; and Sallust may not mean that. He may mean, as Kritz says, that the eager pursuit of money is part of avarice, is contained in it.—'venenis malis:' 'poisonous drugs,' for all 'venenum' is not poison. 'Venenum' may be *medicine.* Cicero (pro Cluentio, c. 54) has "qui venenum malum fecit, fecerit," where he is quoting a 'lex.'—'neque copia—minuitur:' 'avarice is not diminished either by abundance or by deficiency;' which is a rhetorical way of saying that nothing diminishes the passion of avarice. It is true, as the poet says, that avarice increases with possession:

"Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit;"

and it increases with age. The end of it is often fatuity. If by 'inopia' Sallust means a state of poverty, we cannot expect the greediness after money to be diminished by not having it; and we might expect that when a man had enough, he would not want more, if experience did not show us that it is not so. But if a man has an unsatisfied passion, such as greediness after money, nobody expects the want of satisfaction to cure the passion. However, it is a fact that many passions, though they may exist in the man, are not active unless they have the opportunity of action, and they may never show themselves. If they have the opportunity of being called into activity, use increases them. Thus many poor men are not avaricious, because they have nothing. Let them begin to get money, and they will keep it and go on getting and keeping.

L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat, loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata

armis—re publica] 'Having got possession of the state.' Kritz. See Jug. c. 95. But 'recepta' means more than this: 'after he had recovered the power from his opponents.' Sulla defeated the Marian faction, and after becoming master of the Roman state, B.C. 82, he was made dictator.—'bonis initiis:' an absolute ablative, as it is called, 'though his beginnings were good.' He became cruel after he got power. This kind of ablative is much used by the Roman writers, particularly by Caesar. The Germans have an expression which corresponds exactly, 'bei guten Anfängen.' (Kritz.) —'rapere:' this and the following words refer to Sulla's proscriptions, in which many men were murdered and their property was given to Sulla's partizans.—'neque modum neque modestiam:' see c. 38. 'Modus' is measure or limit generally in a thing. 'Modestia' is the idea of 'modus' in the mind. It is the subjective sense, as it is termed, that which is in the subject, the intelligent being, man. The following is a Roman definition: "Modestia est in animo continens moderatio cupiditatum."—'in civibus:' comp. c. 9, 'in amicis,' and Cat. c. 52, 'in furibus.'

in Asia] Sulla was in Asia with his army in B.C. 84. But he had been with an army also in Boeotia and in Attica, and his men stormed Athens in B.C. 86, the same year in which Sallust was born.—'luxuriose—habuerat:' we cannot translate this verb 'habere.' The meaning is, 'Sulla had allowed his men licence, and had indulged them too much.' Comp. Jug. c. 64, "laxiore imperio . . . habere."—'loca—molliverant:' we must suppose the 'quod' to be repeated. Some editors put a full stop after 'habuerat.' Sulla's men found pleasant quarters in the rich cities of Asia, and as soldiers will do, they fell into excesses.—'ferocis:' see c. 5.

signa] 'Signum' is any thing sculptured, in any material. It includes full-sized statues, busts, and rilievi; also bronze figures which are cast. 'Tabulae pictae' are paintings, sometimes called only 'tabulae,' because many pictures were painted on wood. 'Vasa caelata' are vessels, utensils, in metal, on which figures or ornaments are cut. The Greek τορεύματα is equivalent to 'vasa caelata.'

The Roman generals and governors had a taste, and got fine works of art when they could. The Roman soldier might drink and commit many excesses, but if he laid hold of a fine thing, he would value it for the metal or what he could sell it for. His admiration of beautiful things seems a silly way of talking. When L. Mummius took Corinth, the soldiers threw fine pictures on the ground and played at dice on them. Polybius saw this. (Strabo, p. 381.)—'privatim et publice:' 'whether they belonged to indivi-

mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant; ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebantur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque

duals or states.'—'sacra profanaque:' every thing dedicated to religion and not dedicated to religion ('profana'). It is a way of saying 'every thing without distinction.'

nihil reliqui—fecere] 'Left nothing.' We do not see how 'reliqui' can depend on any thing except 'nihil,' yet Kritz is undoubtedly right when he says that it qualifies the predicate 'fecerunt.'

fatigant] 'Prosperity tries or overpowers.'—'ne:' supposed to be equivalent to 'nedum,' which Kritz has, 'much less could these men with their corrupt habits make a reasonable use of victory.' 'Corruptis moribus' is like 'bonis initiis' in the form of expression. 'Temperare' is thus used with a dative by Caesar (B. G. i. 33), "neque sibi . . . temperaturos."

12. *honori—probro*] These datives may be rendered 'an honour,' 'a reproach.' So the dative is used to show what a thing is used for, or what results from it.—'sequebantur:' Allen. Kritz has 'sequebatur.'—'paupertas:' is not 'egestas,' says Kritz. He quotes Seneca, Ep. 87, who says that 'poverty is not the possession of a little, but the not having much.'—'innocentia:' 'innocens' occurs (c. 54) and explains the meaning of 'innocentia.' Here it means the same as 'abstinentia,' abstaining from the property of others, which can hardly have any other sense than the avoiding of dishonest means of getting money. *Kritz says that* in this sense it is opposed to 'avaritia,' 'greediness;' but that is not so. A man may be greedy of money, and greediness may lead to fraud and dishonesty, but still a man may be greedy and honest, at least in a sense. Sallust adds that 'innocentia' was looked on as 'ill will,' that is, towards the greedy and dishonest, who would consider their conduct as tacitly condemned by those who did not do the same.

ex divitiis] 'In consequence of wealth.'—'parvi:' one of the forms in *i* like 'magni,' which are used to express value.—'pudorem:' 'pudor' is a feeling of the mind, the property of the 'modestus.' In c. 54 he says, "cum modesto pudore." 'Pudicitia' consists in acts: it is chastity, purity in act. Kritz quotes Cicero (in Cat. ii. 11), "Ex hac parte pudor regnat, illinc petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum." Comp. Cat. c. 13, 'pudicitiam . . . habere.'—'divina atque humana promiscua:' he means that they confounded all things divine (appertaining to religion) and human. They cared for neither enough to let them stand in their way. 'Divina atque humana' corresponds to 'jus fasque,' c. 15. Kritz translates 'promiscua' thus, "sc. *habere*, i. e. vilia, pariter nihili habere." This is the meaning, but it does not explain 'promiscua,' which is simply 'undistinguished,' 'without distinction' ('sine discrimine,' Cort). The construction is not clear. He ends 'nihil pensi . . . habere,' 'they observed neither weight nor measure.'

avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores religiosissumi mortales fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter injuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra ignavissumi homines per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri victores hostibus reliquerant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

13. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi [iis] qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus sub-

But there is no verb to govern 'pudorem' except 'habere,' and 'habere' alone is not sufficient. Sallust seems to have forgotten the verb for 'pudorem,' &c., and to have left us to supply the sense: they 'cared not for modesty,' &c. If Kritz's explanation of 'promiscua' is accepted, we must also understand 'promiscua' as referring to 'pudorem' and 'pudicitiam,' which is Jacobs' explanation. Allen says on 'pudorem, pudicitiam,' "intellige ex sequentibus *non pensam, neque moderatum habere*:" but I do not accept this.

in urbium modum] Houses in Rome ('domus') and in the country ('villae') of enormous size. Horace says, Carm. iii. 29,

"Molem propinquam nubibus arduis;"

and Cicero speaks of the enormous country house of Gabinius, Pro Sestio, c. 43. The old temples were smaller than many private houses in Sallust's time.

At hi contra] Here 'at' denotes opposition, but this is not always its meaning; and 'contra' strengthens the opposition. The 'ignavissumi homines' are contrasted with the 'fortissumi viri,' but we must not conclude from this that 'homo' is a term of disparagement (c. 4).—'proinde:' formed like 'exinde,' 'deinde.' 'Proinde' contains the notion of 'forward' and 'hence.' Cicero and Terence use it with 'quasi' and a subjunctive in such cases as this. See Jug. c. 4.

13. [*iis*]—*nemini*] After having said 'except to those who have seen them,' he adds 'nemini,' 'to no man.' This position of 'nemo' is usual, when the word is emphatic. Cort and Allen omit 'iis,' and perhaps rightly. — 'subvorsos — constructa:' 'mountains levelled, and seas built on.' He seems to mean that buildings were erected, marine villas, on the very border of the sea, and rubbish was thrown in to make a foundation, as Horace says, Carm. iii. 1,

"Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
Jactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Caementa demittit redemptor."

Sallust explains himself in c. 20, "in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis." It has been conjectured that Sallust alludes to L. Lucullus, who was called 'Xerxes togatus' (Vell. ii. 33), because he threw rubbish into the sea to build on, and pierced through hills and thus let in

vorsos montis, maria constructa esse. Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi caussa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset, non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant; animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat; eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

14. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id

the sea water through them to make fish-ponds. Jacobs, who has 'constrata' in his second edition, instead of 'constructa,' thinks that if we read 'maria constructa,' we must understand Sallust to be speaking of artificial ponds formed by moles and embankments, which ponds might be called 'maria;' but he thinks that the opposition between the removal of mountains in order to make water, and the filling up of sea in order to make land, requires that 'maria' should have its usual signification, and he has accordingly preferred 'constrata.'

abuti] 'divitiis.' 'Abuti' means to use a thing which is consumed in the use, as wine, for instance; and it has the derived sense of 'abusing.'

ceterique cultus] 'Cultus' here means the materials and means for enjoyment and luxury. 'Ganeae' may perhaps stand for 'gluttony.'—'viri:' Cort has 'viros pati muliebria,' where we must suppose that 'pati' depends on 'incesserat.'—'in propatulo:' these words are equivalent to an adjective such as 'patentem.' So Sallust says, 'in incerto' (c. 41), 'in obscuro, in excelso' (c. 51) (Kritz), and 'in promptu . . . habere' (c. 7).—'exquirere:' he speaks as if the consumers scoured every land and sea in search of luxuries, or sent men to do it. But the meaning is that all kinds of foreign delicacies were in demand at Rome, and as the rich Romans could pay for them, they were supplied by the market, as they are now in great cities. Gellius (vii. 16) has a chapter on foreign delicacies.—'luxu antecapere:' they did not wait, he says, for the natural appetite or desire or want, but 'they anticipated all these things by luxury,' that is, by arts or means devised to stimulate the appetite.

Haec] All these things, which he has mentioned. When he says 'animus imbutus,' he means 'nam animus,' &c.—'haud facile—carebat:' 'could not easily liberate itself from its appetites;' 'and the less power it had to do this,' which is meant, though not said, 'with the more extravagance did the mind give itself up in every way to getting and spending.' What he says is true; but his way of saying it is his own. All men have appetites and desires. Some put no restraint on them. After spending all they have, their appetites still demand satisfaction, and if they have nothing of their own to satisfy them with, they will take what belongs to others by force, if they can, or by fraud. This is the short history of many crimes.

quod factu facillumum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis aut pro factis judicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, hi Catilinae proxumi familiaresque erant. Quodsi quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates appetebat; eorum animi molles et aetate

14. *flagitiorum atque facinorum*] He means 'flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum.' In the same way in Terence, Andr. iii. 5, 1, 'scelus' is equivalent to 'sceleatus.' 'Facinus,' which contains the root 'fac,' is a deed in which the act, the boldness, and daring are conspicuous. See c. 4.

manu, ventre] These two words appear, as the critics say, to refer to 'ganeo.' The 'ganeo' wasted his property by gambling, throwing the dice ('manu'), and by extravagant eating and drinking ('ventre'). 'Bona patria' is the property which a man received from his father by testament or by intestacy. 'Bona' is the Roman term for property generally. It includes all property. —'alienum aes—conflaverat:' 'had contracted great debt.' 'Aes alienum' is 'quod nos aliis debemus;' which is a legal definition. 'Conflare,' 'to blow together;' 'conflare ignem,' 'to blow up a fire,' shows what the word means. Hence it signifies to fuse metals by melting; and so the meaning in this passage may be determined.—'quo — redimeret:' 'redimere' means to buy back, to repurchase, as a passage of Cicero (Phil. xiii. 5) shows. 'To buy back' a crime is to buy impunity, to purchase a man's silence, to buy off a witness, or to bribe a jury ('judices') to acquit, as Catilina did when he was prosecuted for 'repetundae.' Cicero (pro Milone, c. 32, quoted by Allen) says, "pecunia se palam a judicibus redemerat."—'parricidae:' he means either 'murderers' generally, or men who had committed great crimes.—'sacrilegi:' we have adopted the word, which literally means 'men who steal things set apart for the service of religion.'—'convicti judiciis:' 'convicted on trial,' in trials, or perhaps 'by trial;' for our word 'convicted' is taken from the Roman word 'convictus,' and has the same meaning. 'Convictus' is one whose guilt is proved.—'manus—sanguine:' 'perjurio' refers to 'lingua,' and 'sanguine' to 'manus,' and this arrangement of words is usual in Sallust. 'Manus' means here 'acts of violence.'

par similisque] 'Equal and like' can hardly apply to one person. The words 'Quodsi quis' contain the notion of 'several.' Some, he says, were made as bad as the rest, and others were made like the rest.

molles] 'Mollis' is that which yields to the touch, and easily receives a form, like wax or the sculptor's clay. 'Fluxus,' which con-

fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam uti cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existumarent, juventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis quam quod cuiquam [id] compertum foret haec fama valebat.

15. Jam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia hujuscemodi contra jus fasque. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cujus praeter formam nihil

tains the root 'fluc,' is that which 'flows' or 'runs off.' It is of the quality of water.

ex aetate] 'According to his age,' or 'by reason of his age.' From and out of the age or time of life that each man has, come the passions of that age. See c. 12, 'ex divitiis.'—'modestiae suae parcere:' 'he spared not his own modesty,' he threw off all decency.—'obnoxios:' 'under his control or power.' This word has many derived meanings, but consistently with its etymology, the primary meaning is 'poenae obligatus ob delictum,' 'under a penalty for some offence;' and hence the notion is that of a man who fears another, is indebted to him, or hopes something from him, and so complies with his wishes.

frequentabat] 'Frequented,' 'regularly visited.' 'Frequens' means both a number of persons in a place, as 'frequens senatus,' and also a repetition of an act by the same person, as 'erat Romae frequens,' 'he was often at Rome.' We have the verb 'frequent,' and the Italians use 'frequentare,' and the French use 'fréquenter.' Sallust uses the indicative 'frequentabat,' though he has used the form 'fuisse . . . qui ita existumarent,' because he is himself stating as a fact that many young men used to visit Catilina's house.—'quam—foret:' this subjunctive is used, as it is said, and perhaps correctly, because it contains no affirmation, but rather the contrary: it was not a proved fact. Kritz quotes Livy (ii. 1), "Libertatis originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres."

15. *Jam primum*] See c. 7.—'stupra:' 'stuprum' is sexual intercourse with a free woman, either one who has never been married or a widow. The name of the 'nobilis virgo' is unknown. The vestal was Fabia, the half-sister of Cicero's wife Terentia. She and Catilina were tried on the charge, and acquitted. Kritz fixes the trial in B.C. 73, and refers to Cicero (in Cat. iii. 4), but Cicero only says "annus decimus post virginum absolutionem."—'contra jus fasque:' see c. 12.

Aureliae Orestillae] See c. 35.—'privignum:' Catilina's son, who would become Aurelia's stepson, if she married Catilina. He was a complete 'adulescens' ('adulta aetate'), having passed the period of 'pueritia' or boyhood. Kritz quotes from the fragments of Sallust's Histories (Fr. Inc. 82), 'senecta aetas.'—'pro certo creditur:' Catilina might be the nominative to 'creditur,' for we can say of a man

umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos

'fecisse creditur,' as we say 'he is believed to have done;' but the addition of 'pro certo,' 'it is believed as a fact,' seems, as the critics observe, to show that 'creditur' is used impersonally, and if this is so, there is no verb in the indicative after 'captus amore' as there ought to be, and Sallust has made what is called an anakoluthia, or a blunder.

Quae quidem res] Catilina had been charged with corrupting a Vestal and he was tried; he was charged with maladministration in his province of Africa, and he was tried. It was firmly ('pro certo') believed that he, a father, had murdered his own son, but he was not charged with the crime and tried; and of course the fact was not proved, and we ought not to believe it. This report is now assumed by Sallust to be a truth, for he says that he thinks it was the main cause of Catilina's bringing to maturity his conspiracy; and the reason why this supposed fact worked as a cause was the uneasiness of the man's conscience, which uneasiness is not proved, but it is inferred from the state of his mind, of which Sallust also could know nothing. This is Sallust's way of writing history. Cicero (in Cat. i. 6) speaks as if Catilina murdered his first wife to make the house vacant for a second, and then he speaks of another 'incredible' crime without saying what it was. Perhaps he alludes to this report about Catilina's son, but having no evidence of it, like a cunning talker, he used vague and general terms, instead of stating a particular fact, of which he had no evidence.

infestus] Jacobs says that Sallust always uses 'infestus' in an active sense, 'the enemy of gods and men,' as in Cicero (Phil. ii. 26, Kritz), "Diis hominibusque hostis." But I am not sure that this is the sense here. 'Infestus' has both an active and passive sense, as Gellius says (ix. 12).—'neque vigiliis neque quietibus:' see what is said c. 11, "neque copia neque inopia." Kritz compares these plurals with the use of 'familiaritates' (c. 14), and so Cicero uses plurals to express the repetition of an act, or a thing which applies to many persons.—'conscientia:' in c. 14 he says 'conscius animus.' The Romans used 'conscientia' in our sense of 'conscience,' a term which requires explanation, and Bishop Butler has explained it better than any body else, so far as I have seen. Catilina's 'conscientia' implies no self-condemnation, but simply his uneasiness of mind, which uneasiness, Sallust says, 'mentem excitam vastabat,' 'disturbed, disordered his excited, restless mind.'

Igitur] 'Accordingly,' as a consequence, he means, of this uneasy state of mind. But the man's habits, as Sallust has described them, may account for the paleness of his complexion, and his muddy eyes.—'prorsus:' one of the compounds of 'vorsus,' like 'rursus' ('revorsus'). 'Prorsus' ('pro-vorsus') is 'straight forward:' here it is, 'to say all at once, in a word.'—'facie:' he evidently makes 'facies' differ from 'voltus,' 'the countenance.' 'Facies,' says Jacobs, means the 'entire exterior,' and he refers to c. 55. If

exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.

16. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat; si caussa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire, jugulare; scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat,

we look to the etymology of the word, 'facies' ought to mean the make and form of a thing, and Gellius (xiii. 29) shows that this was the original meaning of the word: "facies est forma omnis et modus et factura quaedam corporis totius." Gellius quotes a passage from Sallust's History (ii.) in which comparing the form of Sardinia to a footmark, he says, "facie vestigii humani." But, as Gellius says, words change their meanings, and so 'facies' was used as equivalent to the Greek πρόσωπον, the human face.

16. *Sed*] "Here, as often, used for the resuming of the matter which has been interrupted" (Jacobs); which is a good remark.

Ex illis] 'Illis' refers to the notion of 'juvenes,' which is contained in 'juventutem.'—'signatores falsos:' 'false sealers' of wills. Catilina supplied ('commodare') men to be witnesses ('testes') and to seal for those who were going to forge wills. This kind of knavery was not uncommon at Rome, nor is it unknown among us.

vilia habere] 'Habere' depends on 'imperabat.'—'attriverat:' he has the word in the Jug. c. 5. The explanation of the 'ad' in this compound 'ad-terere,' is not easy. The verb means to 'rub at' a thing, the rubbing is directed to an object, and the effect of rubbing is to smooth a thing, polish it, and, what is unavoidable, to wear away some of the surface.—'suppetebat:' this word is used in an intransitive sense, and has the meaning of 'adesse,' 'superesse;' as in Caesar (B. G. i. 16), "ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat."—'circumvenire, jugulare:' these historical infinitives have 'Catilina' for the nominative or subject. 'He cheated, he murdered,' making his companions his tools. 'Insontis sicut sontis' is only a way of saying 'all alike' (see c. 11), for it is no excuse for a knave or a murderer that the man whom he cheats or murders is a bad man.—'scilicet:' said sarcastically. 'Scilicet,' 'you may be sure,' 'of course.' 'Gratuito,' like 'fortuito' in form, means 'without profit or advantage.' Catilina exercised himself in villainy even when nothing was to be got by it; he kept his hand in, as we say. This is extravagant and shows that Sallust was thinking more of rhetorical effect than of truth. A villain does not act, unless he sees some profit in action.

per omnis terras] One would suppose that he means Italy only; but as he says 'all lands,' and yet cannot mean 'all' literally, he may mean both in Italy and in the Roman provinces. There were many debtors and of course many creditors. The debtors could not pay, and the Ro-

et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus; Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes; senatus nihil sane intentus; tutae tranquillaeque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

17. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare; hortari alios, alios temptare; opes suas, imparatam rem publicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurumum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius,

mans had at this time nothing like our bankrupt or insolvent laws. Occasionally they settled these difficulties by a general law ('tabulae novae'), which relieved the debtor by compelling the creditor to take a part of his debt for the whole.—'plerique Sullani milites:' 'the greater part of Sulla's soldiers;' the old soldiers of the Dictator L. Sulla. These men had got lands and money by the favour of Sulla and his proscriptions and confiscations, but they had wasted their means, were needy and greedy, and they wanted more. Here were the elements of a revolution. Cicero (in Cat. ii. 9) says, "they had become so deeply embarrassed, that if they would get out of their difficulties, they must raise up Sulla from the regions below." The men of whom Cicero is here speaking belonged to those colonies which Sulla had settled, and chiefly in Etruria. Appian (B. C. i. 104) says that the whole number of these settlers was one hundred and twenty thousand.

Italia] If Sallust uses this word properly, he does not include in it Gallia Cisalpina. Cn. Pompeius was in Asia conducting the war against Mithridates. In the year B.C. 64, when L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus (c. 17) were consuls, Pompeius was in Syria. In the next year Mithridates died, and Pompeius took Jerusalem. In B.C. 65 he had made a campaign in Armenia, and in the countries bordering on the Caucasus.—'petenti:' 'if he should be a candidate' ('petitor').

17. *appellare*] 'He addressed,' 'he spoke to.'

necessitudo] 'Necessity:' he means want of money. The word has the same meaning here as 'necessitas.' Jacobs says that 'necessitudo' has always this meaning in Sallust except in Jug. c. 80. Gellius (xiii. 3) ridicules those who make any distinction between 'necessitas' and 'necessitudo;' yet 'necessitas' is certainly generally used in a sense something like 'necessity,' and 'necessitudo' means the intimacy which arises from affinity or familiarity.

P. Lentulus Sura] P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura had been consul in B.C. 71. In B.C. 70 he and many others were expelled by the Censors from the Senate for their bad lives. In B.C. 63 he was elected Praetor a second time, and so got into the Senate again. He married Julia, the sister of L. Julius Caesar, consul B.C. 64. Julia's first husband was M. Antonius Creticus, by whom she became the mother of M. Antonius

L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servi filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut aliqua necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consili fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum exer-

the Triumvir.—'P. Autronius:' see c. 18.—'L. Cassius Longinus:' Praetor in B.C. 66, in the same year as Cicero, who describes him as a fat fellow (in Cat. iii. 7). Cicero says that Cethegus was mad.

P. et Servius Sullae] The plural 'Sullae' is used, for he means 'P. Sulla et Servius Sulla.' These two men were the sons of Servius Sulla, who was the brother of the Dictator L. Sulla. It has generally been supposed that this P. Sulla is the man mentioned in the next chapter, the man whom Cicero defended in an oration which is extant. But a passage in Cicero's oration (pro Sulla, c. 2), as it is now read, proves that Cicero's client was not the Publius Sulla who is mentioned in this chapter (Halm's ed. of the Pro Sulla, Einleitung).—'Vargunteius:' he was quaestor in B.C. 75, in the same year as M. Cicero.

P. Gabinius Capito] Cicero names him Cimber (in Cat. iii. 3), "horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem, Cimbrum Gabinium."—'domi nobiles:' as there were 'nobiles' in Rome, so there were 'nobiles' in the Roman and Latin colonies, and in the Italian towns ('municipia'), which were not colonies. This colonial and municipal nobility was probably acquired by those who had filled the high offices in their towns, or whose ancestors had. In modern Italy during the time when it had republics, when Venice possessed many towns on the main land, there was a class of nobles also in these dependent towns, Padua and others.

aliqua necessitudo] 'Any necessity at all,' as Jacobs remarks. 'Aliqua' is emphatic. Cort has 'alia necessitudo.'

vivere copia erat] 'Had the means of living;' as if he had said 'licebat.' Kritz compares 'non fuit consilium ... conterere' (c. 4).

M. Licinium Crassum] The richest man in Rome. Crassus defeated Spartacus and his bands in B.C. 71. Pompeius on his return from Spain through North Italy met the fugitive slaves and destroyed them. Modesty was no part of Pompeius' character, and he claimed the merit of putting an end to this dangerous servile war (Plutarch, Crassus, c. 11; and Pompeius, c. 21). Cn. Pompeius and M. Crassus were consuls in B.C. 70, but they were quarrelling all the time.—'illos:' the conspirators, the notion of conspirators being contained in the word 'conjuratio.' So in c. 16 'illis' refers to 'juventutem.' This way of writing is usual among the Romans.

citum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua quam verissume potero dicam. L. Tullo M' Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant. Post paulo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum

18. *M' Lepido*] M' is the abbreviation of Manius. L. Volcatius Tullus and M' Aemilius Lepidus were consuls in B.C. 66. Sallust goes back to the year 66 to speak of a conspiracy, which ended in nothing.—'P. Autronius' Paetus: a school-fellow of Cicero and quaestor in the same year. Cicero gives him a bad character (pro Sulla, c. 25). Autronius and P. Sulla were elected consuls ('designati consules') in B.C. 66. They would have exercised the office in the following year B.C. 65, but they were tried under the laws about bribery at elections ('legibus ambitus'), and having been convicted they lost their appointment and were punished. The most recent Lex which was in force at this time, about bribery at elections, was the Acilia Calpurnia, enacted in B.C 67. The penalties of this Lex were a fine and perpetual incapacity to enjoy the high offices ('honores') of the Roman State.

Sallust has mentioned one P. Sulla (c. 17) as an accomplice in the second conspiracy, and this P. Sulla might be the same person as P. Sulla consul designatus in B.C. 66. But Sallust tells us in this chapter that Autronius joined Catilina's first conspiracy, and he does not say that P. Sulla did. Sulla might have joined the second conspiracy without having been in the first, but when Sallust describes the two Sullae mentioned in c. 17 as the sons of Servius, he may have thought that he had sufficiently distinguished P. Sulla the son of Servius and a conspirator from P. Sulla who was elected consul with Autronius. Dion Cassius indeed calls P. Sulla consul designatus a nephew of the Dictator Sulla, and he may have been the dictator's nephew, and yet not the son of Servius, if the dictator had another brother.

pecuniarum—reus] 'Pecuniae repetundae' is money to be recovered from a man. In its technical sense, it is money which the governor of a province got from the provincials by illegal means, and which might be recovered from him; and so the term came to be used to express the offence. 'Pecuniarum rep. reus' is one who is under prosecution for this offence. Catilina was praetor of the province Africa B.C. 67. He returned to Rome in B.C. 66, but before his return the provincials had gone to Rome to complain of him.

Sallust has said that the consuls elected in B.C. 66 for the year B.C. 65, Autronius and P. Sulla, were punished for bribery. But he has not said that after they lost their office, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus were elected consuls instead of them. The reader must however supply this fact. He then says, 'a little after (the punishment) of Autronius and P. Sulla, Catilina being under prosecution for repetundae, had been prevented from being a candidate for the consulship, because he had not been able to give in his name (as a candidate) within the time fixed by the law.' Sallust then speaks of a conspiracy of Catilina and Autronius about the fifth

petere [quod intra legitumos dies profiteri nequiverit]. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. Jam

of December, B.C. 66, to assassinate the consuls Cotta and Torquatus on the first of January, B.C. 65, the day on which they would enter on their office. Sallust therefore assigns to the year B.C. 66 Catilina's failure in becoming a candidate for the consulship for want of not having given legal notice.

The fragments of Cicero's oration in Toga Candida, which was delivered in B.C. 64, and the commentary of Asconius on that oration, state the facts thus,—When Catilina returned from Africa in B.C. 66, he declared his intention to be a candidate for the consulship for the next year. It was necessary to make this declaration a 'trinundinum' or seventeen days before the election ('comitia'): this is what Sallust means by the words 'intra legitumos dies.' The consul Tullus, whose business it was to preside at the election, called together the senate ('consilium publicum') or the chief senators ('principes civitatis') and asked them, whether he should consider Catilina as a candidate, for he was under prosecution for repetundae. Catilina for this reason desisted from his canvass, the decision having been against him, as we must infer, though Asconius does not say so. This took place, as it seems, before the election of Autronius and P. Sulla; and after their conviction for bribery L. Aurelius Cotta and T. Manlius Torquatus were elected consuls for B.C. 65. Then followed the events which Sallust speaks of in the words 'Erat eodem tempore' &c. to 'multa antea perpessos' (c. 19).

Kalendis Januariis] On the first of January, B.C. 65. This was the day on which the consuls entered on their office. Sallust does not say that Catilina was tried in B.C. 65 on this charge of repetundae. The prosecutor was P. Clodius, afterwards Cicero's mortal enemy. Catilina was acquitted. The historian Fenestella says that Cicero defended Catilina, but Asconius doubts the truth of this statement, founding his doubt on an expression in Cicero's oration in Toga Candida. This prosecution prevented Catilina from being a candidate for the consulship in B.C. 65 also. It appears then that when Sallust says that Catilina could not be a candidate, because he could not declare himself within the proper time, he has assigned to B.C. 66 what took place in B.C. 65. If the words 'quod . . . nequiverat' or 'nequiverit,' as some read it, were omitted, Sallust's statement would be nearer the truth, for it may be assumed that Catilina received notice of his prosecution in B.C. 66, though he was not tried till B C. 65.

fascibus correptis] The seizing the 'fasces,' the symbols of the consular power, is the seizing on the consulship.—'duas Hispanias:' so the Romans used to speak of the province of Hispania Citerior, afterwards named Tarraconensis, and Hispania Ulterior, afterwards divided into Baetica and Lusitania.

tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quodni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessumum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

19. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est, annitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat, quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Pompei formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens

non consulibus modo, sed] 'Not the consuls only, but.' In this form of expression, where 'non . . . modo' does not express all, but something remains to be added, this addition is often effected by 'sed' only; but often 'sed et' and 'sed etiam' are used.

maturasset] 'Maturare,' 'to ripen,' 'to make ready,' was also used to signify 'to hasten,' and so it came to mean 'to be in too great a hurry.'

This is a most unsatisfactory story about the first conspiracy. If all these facts were known at the time, it is difficult to understand how Catilina was not brought to trial and punished, for there was at least, as we are here told, one act of treason, the giving of the signal for the rising and the meeting of some men in arms. Cicero (in Cat. i. 6) attributes the failure of the design on the consuls and others to Fortuna. Dion (36, c. 27), in a passage which is corrupt, seems to say that proceedings would have been taken by the Senate against the conspirators, if a tribune had not interposed. Dion also says that P. Sulla the colleague of Autronius was in the conspiracy. Suetonius (Caesar, c. 9) also says that this P. Sulla was in the conspiracy. Suetonius quotes as his authorities for this first conspiracy the history of Tanusius Geminus, the edicta of Bibulus, and the orations of C. Curio the father. Tanusius says that M. Crassus was in the conspiracy, and that through changing his mind or through fear he was not present on the day agreed on for the massacre, and that accordingly C. Caesar did not give the signal which it had been agreed that he should give. We conclude that Sallust's short story is incomplete, and also that the facts of this first conspiracy are very uncertain.

19. *quaestor pro praetore*] Though he was only 'quaestor,' he had the title and power of a 'praetor.' His title was 'quaestor pro praetore.'

Neque tamen] 'Nor yet.' He means that the appointment of an unsuccessful conspirator seemed strange, 'and yet' the Senate had appointed him willingly. They wished to keep him away from the administration of affairs at Rome, for that is the meaning of 'a re publica procul esse.'—'boni:' 'the good' are the 'optimates,' the conservative senatorial party, the men who were against revolution and change.—'complures:' 'quam plures,' Cort.

occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos; numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

20. Catilina ubi eos quos paulo ante memoravi convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit, atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio

Sunt qui ita dicunt] 'Some affirm.' 'Sunt qui' corresponds to 'alii' in the next clause, and 'Sunt qui' here stands as one word. There is a reading 'sunt qui ita dicant,' which some may prefer.—'Cn. Pompeii:' Cn. Pompeius had served in Spain and brought to an end the war against Sertorius. The exact meaning of 'voluntate ejus' is not plain. Pompeius was in the east, and could not have urged these Spaniards to kill Piso. Jacobs explains it thus: 'because they knew that he would be glad to see it.' The 'voluntas,' the good will, or consent of Pompeius could only be inferred from the fact of the assassins being attached to Pompeius, and the additional fact of the Spaniards never having done such a thing before. Yet Jacobs reminds us that L. Piso Frugi, a propraetor in Spain, and a better man than Cn. Piso, had already been murdered there.

imperia—multa] 'The cruel administration of many governors.'

in medio] 'We will leave this undecided;' he will leave every man to form his opinion.

20. *tametsi cum singulis—egerat*] 'Agere cum aliquo' means 'to talk with any person about any matter;' '*agere cum* populo,' 'to address the people,' 'to propose a measure.' 'Tametsi' and 'etsi' are generally followed by 'tamen.'—'in rem:' 'to the purpose,' 'useful.'—'arbitris:' 'witnesses,' of what was said. There were none present except the conspirators, as we might have supposed without being told. 'Ar' is equivalent to 'ad;' and 'arbiter' is one who is present.—'hujuscemodi:' 'of this kind,' 'to this effect.' So 'hujuscemodi' and 'ejusmodi' are used. Sallust has written a speech such as he supposed to be suitable to the occasion.

cecidisset] 'Would have fallen out,' 'happened.'—'spes . . . dominatio in manibus:' 'great hopes, power which is in our hands would have been useless.' As Kritz remarks, we must understand 'in manibus' as an adjective, which agrees with 'dominatio,' and 'frustra' is the predicate both of 'spes' and 'dominatio.' He compares Jug. c. 7. Allen has 'fuisset,' because 'dominatio' is not another thing, but a stronger word which takes the place of 'spes.'—'per ignaviam:' he means 'per ignavos homines,' and 'vana ingenia' means the same as 'homines vani ingenii,' 'men of worthless character.' 'Vanus' is empty, unreal, false. See Jug. c. 38.

in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divorsi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, quum considero quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctori-

multis—tempestatibus] 'By trial on many and great occasions of danger I have found you to be.' This seems to be the meaning, and he does not mean 'in many,' &c. 'Multus et magnus' are often thus united.—'eadem quae mihi:' Cort omits 'quae,' and it may be omitted, and then we have 'eadem mihi,' a Greek construction like τὰ αὐτά. Allen compares Demosthenes, pro Cor. 90, τὸ ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς.—'ea demum . . . amicitia:' see c. 7, and the note on 'eas,' 'eam.'

divorsi] 'Separately.' He might have said 'singuli.' See c. 2, note.

Ceterum] 'As to the rest.' He had told them severally his mind. All he has to say besides ('ceterum') is this: 'mihi in dies' &c. 'In dies,' 'daily,' 'from day to day.' —'quum considero:' 'quum' with the indicative here marks the time with precision, 'when I consider, then in my mind.' 'Nosmet in libertatem' means 'to assert our liberty.' See c. 9.

res publica] 'The State,' means 'the administration of the State,' 'the political power.' We may translate 'concessit,' 'has come into the hands of,' 'has been transferred.' Jacobs explains 'jus atque dicionem,' 'legal authority and actual authority,' which is as near as we can express the meaning.

reges, tetrarchae] These words often come together, as in Horace, Sat. i. 3, v. 12,

> "——— modo reges, atque tetrarchas,
> Omnia magna loquens."

'Tetrarches' is a Greek word, which signifies the ruler or prince of a fourth part of some country. Such was Deiotarus of Galatia, for whom Cicero made a speech before the Dictator Caesar. The title of 'tetrarches' was lower than 'rex.' Sallust speaks of kings, petty princes and peoples giving pay ('stipendia') to the powerful Romans, which means that they bribed the great men of Rome in order to further their interests with the Senate; as we might imagine the impossible case in our time of an Indian prince bribing an English member of Parliament in order to get some advantage.

ignobiles] This is the same as 'not noble,' no more.—'sine gratia:' 'without the means of getting influence,' by helping and assisting

tate, iis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissumi viri? nonne emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enimvero pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo incepto opus est; cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam

others, and those specially who had money to pay for favours.—'obnoxii:' see c. 14.—'si res publica valeret:' opposed to 'paucorum potentium,' as Jacobs says. He means if the 'commonwealth were in a healthy state.'

apud illos] 'In the hands of those men;' 'illos' emphatic, the 'potentes.' 'Itaque' refers to the beginning of the sentence, 'Nam postquam.'—'aut ubi:' 'or in the hands of those in whose hands.' Compare the use of 'ibi,' c. 3.—'repulsas:' 'rejections,' when we are candidates for the 'honores,' which are the 'magistratus.' 'Judicia' are 'trials,' 'prosecutions.'

emori per virtutem] 'To die outright with honour' seems to express the sense. Yet as 'per' even here has the notion of 'through,' 'by means of,' the sense is 'to make an effort to improve our condition, though the effort may lead to death.' 'Emori' sometimes means 'to die with pain.'

Verum enimvero] See c. 2.—'pro deum—fidem:' a common Latin formula. It means 'by all that is sacred before gods and men.' 'Pro' is often written 'proh.' It certainly cannot be the preposition 'pro.' Professor Key (Lat. Gr. 862) suggests that 'proh' may be "perhaps for 'prohibe,' keep off."

omnia consenuerunt] 'All that they have, all their strength and vigour have become enfeebled by years and wealth.'

Tantummodo] 'Modo' is the ablative of 'modus,' and is used to express a measure or limit. 'So much only, and no more is needed;' and he tells us how much: all that is necessary is to make a beginning.

Etenim] 'And indeed.' Jacobs says that Sallust uses 'etenim' only once more. Jug. c. 85.—'superare quas profundant:' 'to have money enough to waste.'—'in exstruendo mari:' see c. 13.—'binas—continuare:' 'to join together two houses to make one.' He says 'binas,' 'pairs of houses,' which several might do. 'Amplius' is often thus used without any regard to grammatical construction, 'a pair or more.'—'larem familiarem:' 'a hearth,' 'a home.' The Lar was the tutelary deity of a house and family.

ullum esse? Quum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior; denique, quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio mea vos hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

21. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, uti proponeret quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, pro-

Quum — emunt] See note on 'quum' in this chapter.—'tabulas,' &c.: see c. 11.—'trahunt, vexant:' 'tear, torture,' as if they were trying to destroy their wealth.—'summa lubidine:' 'with all their whims and caprices.'

res, spes] 'Res,' 'spes' are often thus placed. 'Our present state is bad, our expectations are much worse.'—'quid reliqui:' see c. 11.

Quin igitur] 'Why don't you wake up then, rouse yourselves?' It can also be used with the first person, 'Quin . . . conscendimus equos?' 'why do we not mount our horses?' (Liv. i. 57.) The Romans also said 'Quin attendite,' 'Come attend;' 'quin' is 'quine?' 'why not?'

Haec—agam] 'These very things, this victory over our enemies.' He was a candidate for the consulship in this year (B.C. 64).—'nisi forte:' said sarcastically, as in Jug. c. 31.

21. *abunde*] An adverb used like an adjective. See c. 58.—'res—spes:' see c. 20.—'quieta movere:' 'to disturb the peaceable state of affairs.' Even that would be its own reward ('merces'). Some men, he says, love disturbance even if they get nothing by it.—'quae condicio:' he explains this by what follows. They asked what was the nature of the circumstances under which they were going to engage in war.

tabulas novas] 'New tables,' that is, a new set of accounts, a clearing of old debts. See c. 33. Cicero (in Cat. ii. 8) promises the conspirators a settlement of debts, but not such a settlement as they expected. He promised them 'tabulae auctionariae,' a sale of their estates to pay their debts, an encumbered estates' bill.—'proscriptionem:' a 'proscriptio' is a public notice in writing. 'Proscribere domum' means to offer a house for sale by public notice.

scriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnis bonos, suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

22. Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habita, quum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde quum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicut in sollemnibus sacris fieri

The 'proscriptio' of Sulla was done by putting up in public the names of men, whose property was declared to be confiscated, and the owners' lives forfeited.—'sacerdotia:' priestly offices, such as those of pontifex and augur. These offices at Rome were not appropriated to a class of priests: they were given to laymen, and there was money with the places.

Pisonem] See c. 19.—'P. Sittium:' Sittius of Nuceria was an adventurer. He went to Spain and then to Africa, and he and his men served for money the African kings in their quarrels with one another. He was one of the Condottieri of those days, such a man as we read of in the Italian history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the African war B.C. 46 he fought for Caesar, and Sallust, who was in that war, may have seen Sittius.—'C. Antonium:' C. Antonius Hybrida, the mean son of a noble father, M. Antonius the orator. C. Antonius was a competitor for the consulship in B.C. 64, when Cicero was a candidate. Catilina also was a candidate and five others. Catilina and Antonius made a coalition against Cicero, and they were aided by C. Caesar and M. Crassus. Cicero made a speech against Antonius and Catilina in the Senate a few days before the election (Asconius, Argumentum in Orationem in Senatu in Toga Candida). We have only a few fragments of this speech, but they show that it contained plenty of abuse.

cupiditatis suae] 'Suae' should be 'ejus' according to usage. See c. 28, 'domi suae.'—'ignominiae:' 'ignominia' would be a consequence of 'periculum,' or being tried and convicted.

curae haberent] Caelius (Cicero, ad Fam. viii. 8) writes "rem, de qua misi, velim curae habeas" (Allen).

22. *popularis*] This word means 'socios.' See c. 24.—'post exsecrationem:' 'after they had uttered imprecations on themselves, if they betrayed the plot.'

consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo [dictitare] fecisse, quo inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

23. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia; neque reticere

[*dictitare*] *fecisse*] Kritz omits 'dictitare.' Cort explained 'dictitare' as equivalent to 'dictitabant,' which is written in one MS. Yet Cort found in three or four MSS. 'dictam rem fecisse.' The words 'dictā rē' seem to have been changed into 'dictare,' a reading which Cort found in seven MSS. and Aldus printed. 'Dictare' was changed by the copyists into 'dictitare' (Allen). —'alius alii . . . conscii:' 'alii' is the dative: 'every man being conscious that every other had committed such a crime.'

Ciceronis invidiam] 'The unpopularity of Cicero;' for so 'invidia' is used with a genitive. See c. 6. It was the execution of some of the conspirators in Cicero's consulship which made him many enemies.

23. *conjuratione*] 'Conventione,' Cort, who supposes that 'conventione' refers to 'eo convenere,' c. 17. But I think that 'conjuratione' is the true reading.—'flagitiis:' see c. 14.—'coopertus:' sometimes written 'copertus,' whence the Italian 'coperto.'—'censores:' Kritz supposes that these censors were Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius (B.C. 70), who were very severe in examining the list of Senators, and expelled sixty-four men from the Senate (Livy, Epit. 98). Curius was expelled for his scandalous life. A man whose character was notoriously bad might be removed from the Senate by the censors without any investigation. It was a great power lodged in the hands of men who had risen to the highest rank in the state; a power that might be abused, as all power may be, but a wholesome and a necessary power, if we would keep a body like the Senate free from vile men.

vanitas] 'Silliness,' 'weakness of character.' See c. 20, 'vana ingenia.' Nothing could be sillier than the character which Sallust gives to Curius. The wise man Chilon reckoned among the three most difficult things the keeping of a secret; and if we may judge by our experience, he was right.—'reticere:' though 'reticere' and 'tacere' may sometimes be used indifferently, the 're' has a meaning in 'reticere.' It has a reference to a secret entrusted to a man, and the corresponding thing to receiving a secret is 'reticere,' 'to keep it.' 'Tacere' means absolute silence and no more.—'suamet:' his own. 'Met' corresponds, as Kritz observes, in meaning, to the German 'eigen,' 'own.' The word 'met' is probably a part of the original form of the pronoun 'ego.' Allen writes 'suamet ipsius' on the authority of one MS., and it is Latin. He quotes Livy x. 16, "si suismet ipsorum viribus," &c.; and Livy vii. 38, "suum ipsorum exemplum."—'prorsus:' see c. 15.—'quicquam pensi:' see c. 5. Instead of the infinitives 'dicere,' 'facere,' Livy (xxvi. 15) writes, "queis neque quid facerent

quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui quum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret, postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curi caussa cognita, tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinae conjuratione, quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

24. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius. Quod factum primo popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor

neque quid dicerent, quidquam unquam pensi fuisset."

Fulvia] Of the noble gens Fulvia; but nothing more is known of her.—'vetus' means 'of long standing.' As to 'stuprum,' see c. 15.—'maria montisque:' a proverbial expression. Terence, Phorm. i. 2, 18, has "modo non montes auri pollicens."—'obnoxia:' 'if she did not comply with his wishes.'—'ferocius:' 'more violently.' See c. 5.

insolentiae] 'His strange behaviour.'—'sublato auctore:' 'without naming her authority.'—'quoque:' the ablative of 'quisque.' She had heard of it in various ways besides hearing it from Curius.

Ea res] This rumour of a conspiracy. Plutarch (Cicero, c. 11) says that Catilina expected to be elected consul with Antonius and to govern him as he liked, for Antonius was not a man of decided character. Accordingly most of the better sort helped Cicero to the consulship.—'*homo novus*' is a man who is the first of his family who has obtained the 'honores' at Rome, the first who has obtained a curule office: "qui primus in sua gente honores adeptus erat" (Asconius). See Cicero, in Pisonem, c. 1. 'Novus homo' is opposed to 'nobilis.' See c. 5, and the note.

post fuere] Same as 'post habita' (Kritz).

24. *declarantur*] In B.C. 64 they were elected for B.C. 63. The consuls are also said 'renuntiari,' to be returned by the presiding magistrate.

concusserat] Sallust used the plusquam perfectum, because he tacitly referred this matter to what follows and what in some manner is connected with it. As if it were 'quod factum, quamquam concusserat, tamen Catilinae furor non minuebatur' (Kritz). Sallust does not tell us that Catilina was again tried in this year B.C. 64 after the Comitia. He was tried under the Lex Cornelia de Sicariis for murder committed during Sulla's proscrip-

minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portaré, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurumos cujusque generis homines ascivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

25. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; literis Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius

tions, and he was again acquitted. The prosecutor was L. Lucceius (Asconius in Orationem in Toga Candida, p. 92, ed. Orelli) the historian and a friend of M. Cicero.

pecuniam—mutuam] This is 'borrowed money,' and 'sua fide sumptam,' taken or gotten on his own credit. 'Mutuum' is a loan of things for which repayment is made by things of the same value, as money is repaid not by the same coin but by coin of equal value. When a thing was lent and when the same thing must be returned, the Romans named this kind of loan 'commodatum.' If a man borrows a picture or a piece of plate, he must return the same thing.

Faesulas] Now Fiesole, in Etruria, on a hill near the Arnus, three miles above Florence. Faesulae was one of the places where L. Sulla had settled his soldiers (Cicero, pro Murena, c. 24).—'Manlium quendam:' this C. Manlius was an old soldier who had served under Sulla, and a man of great expense. He wanted money (Dion 37, c. 30).—'princeps . . . faciundi:' 'he was the beginner of the war.' Kritz compares Cicero, Phil. v. 16, "princeps exercitus faciendi."

sumptus—toleraverunt] 'They had maintained or sustained a great expenditure.' There were extravagant women in the plot.—'tantummodo luxuriae:' 'had fixed limits to their gains only, but not (neque) to their extravagance.' Allen compares Jug. 50, 'ipsi modo . . . neque,' and c. 88.—'conflaverant:' see c. 14, note. —'viros . . . interficere:' there were women who wanted to get rid of their husbands, as Appian says (B. C. ii. 2), and Catilina got money from these women.

25. *Sempronia*] She belonged to the great Sempronia gens. Her husband was D. Junius Brutus, consul B.C. 77, and a man of merit. He was still living in B.C. 63 (c. 40). It is probable that D. Junius Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins, was the son of this Junius and of Sempronia.

Graecis] A knowledge of Greek was at this time a part of a liberal education at Rome.—'saltare:' dancing was not altogether considered improper at Rome for gentlemen and ladies. But there are many kinds of dancing, and Sempronia's dancing was not exactly that which became a decent woman. There is a passage about dancing in Cicero's oration Pro Murena, c. 6, and in Macrobius, Sat. ii. 10.

Sallust says 'literis docta,' and he

quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; lubidine sic accensa ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus comparatis Catilina nihilo minus in

also makes the infinitives 'psallere,' 'cantare' depend on 'docta.' Kritz says that 'literis docta' means 'instructed in literature.' So Cicero (Brutus, 45) writes 'doctus Graecis literis.'

fuit] He makes the verb agree with the nearest noun ('pudicitia') instead of making it agree with 'omnia.' See Jug. c. 50, "collis quam campi fuerant."—'pecuniae an famae:' the complete form would be 'pecuniaene an famae.' See c. 52, 'bonis an malis.' Cort writes 'decerneres' contrary to the MSS.; and I think that 'decerneres' is the true word here.—'accensa:' it is the nominative (Jug. c. 20). But Cort on authority writes 'lubido sic accensa,' which some may prefer.

creditum] 'She had on oath denied a debt.' 'Creditum' is literally that which is 'trusted to a person.' 'Pecunia credita' is money lent. 'Creditor' is the creditor, and 'debitor' the debtor. 'Creditum' therefore implies 'debitum.' The original sense of 'creditum' is 'money lent and borrowed,' 'mutua pecunia;' but the word was extended to signify any legal demand, and 'creditor' came to signify any person to whom any thing was due for any reason.

A 'judex' could put a party to a suit to his oath, if there was not sufficient evidence to enable him to give judgment. Sallust means that *Sempronia* had been put to her oath, and had sworn falsely. Cicero uses 'abjurare' in a like sense, in a letter to Atticus (i. 8).—'caedis conscia:' 'she had even been privy to murder.' All this is very vague talk.—'luxuria—praeceps:' 'through her love of extravagant living and her want of money she had sunk down into the depth of vice;' for this is what he means. See c. 37, 'praeceps ierat.' One cannot conceive how her good husband knew nothing of his wife's conduct, or if he did know it, why he did not adopt the easy and common remedy at Rome of putting her away. The Roman husband and wife had not the trouble of applying to a court of divorce when they wished to separate.

ingenium — absurdum] See c. 3 and c. 25.—'jocum movere:' 'be mirthful and excite to mirth.'—'molli vel procaci:' 'voluptuous,' or 'impudent.' 'Procax' may even mean something more, 'lewd.' Cicero (pro Caelio, c. 20, quoted by Kritz): "si ita se geret ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam proterva meretrix procaxque videatur." 'Procax' is a woman who invites by her words, or gestures. It contains the root 'proc,' the same as in 'precari.'

facetiae—lepos] 'Lepos' is originally 'sweetness;' and we may translate it 'charming manners.' 'Facetiae' is not so easy to explain; but it is something like 'wit.'

proxumum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque

26. *proxumum annum*] He was a candidate in B.C. 63, and if elected he would have held the office in B.C. 62. This was the man's fourth attempt. Though he had made such preparations (c. 24) for a revolution, he still wished for the consulship, which would confer on him legal authority and he could use it for his revolutionary purposes, just as a man now-a-days might be chosen president of a republic and then use his authority to make a revolution and get himself declared an emperor. —'designatus:' see c. 18. If elected, he would have been elected in B.C. 63, while C. Antonius was still consul and he expected to make Antonius his tool.

Neque interea] Allen has 'neque tamen interea,' following one MS., and he erases 'tamen' in the words 'Neque illi tamen' in the next sentence, following two MSS.

dolus] 'Skill, cunning,' a word like 'venenum' (c. 11), 'facinus' and others, which may signify something either good or bad. Ulpian says (Dig. 4. 3. 1, § 3), "Veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant et pro solertia hoc nomen accipiebant, praecipue si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinaretur." The Roman term for legal fraud is 'dolus malus.'

pactione provinciae] 'By a bargain about his province.' The Senate, according to a Lex Sempronia (Jug. c. 27), named the Provinciae which the consuls of each year should have after the end of their year of office. The Senate had named Macedonia and Gallia Cisalpina as the Provinciae of Cicero and Antonius, who had by lot as usual determined which of them was to have Macedonia, the more profitable province. Cicero got Macedonia, but in order to gain Antonius Cicero gave up Macedonia to him, and took Gallia Cisalpina. He afterwards gave up Gallia also (Cicero, in Pis. c. 2).

ne contra—sentiret] 'Not to form designs against the state.'

dies comitiorum] The Comitia were fixed for the 21st of October, on which day it was said that Catilina intended to murder Cicero. On the 20th Cicero spoke in the Senate about the conspiracy, and the Comitia were postponed. On the 21st of October Cicero in the Senate exposed the designs of Catilina, who was present, but instead of justifying himself he left the house after making a vague threat (Cic. pro Murena, c. 25; Plut. Cicero, c. 14). Kritz (Chron. Table) makes one day's difference in the reckoning.

The election of consuls was made on the 28th of October, and D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena were elected consuls for B.C. 62. On this occasion also Cicero says that Catilina brought armed men into the Campus with the view of assassination (Cicero, in Cat. i. 3; pro Murena, c. 26).—'consuli in

petitio neque insidiae, quas consuli in Campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant.

27. Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri, consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent, dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Por-

Campo:' Cort has 'consulibus in Campo.' Cicero (in Cat. i. 5) says, "Quum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in Campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti."

bellum facere] Caesar also (B. G. iii. 29) has this expression. Seneca (Ep. 114) finds fault with it, one knows not why, for it is used by several Roman writers; and it is Greek too, though the Greeks said πόλεμον ποιεῖσθαι.—'aspera foedaque:' these are the predicates. 'His secret attempts (quae occulte tentaverat) had turned out vexatious and disgraceful.'

27. *C. Manlium*] Manlius was at Faesulae in B.C. 64 (c. 24). Men from Faesulae and Arretium, partizans of Catilina, came to give him their help at the election of B.C. 63. (Cicero, pro Mur. c. 24.) Cicero does not say that Manlius came to Rome in B.C. 63; but it may be inferred that he did from this chapter, and that he went back.—'Camertem:' of Camerinum in Umbria. The 'ager Picenus,' the country of Picenum, on the Hadriatic, corresponds to the present Marca d'Ancona.—'quem ubique:' *see c. 21.*—'obsidere:' 'to occupy.' See c. 45, 'obsidunt.'—'cum telo esse:' this was an old legal expression, which signified that a man went about armed for an unlawful purpose. See c. 49; and Cicero, pro Milone, c. 4, "esse cum telo hominis occidendi caussa (lex) vetat." 'Jubere' means 'jubere cum telo esse.'

intempesta nocte] Cicero has this expression (Phil. i. 3; in Pis. c. 38). Night is an unfit time for doing a thing, and 'intempesta nox' is 'night out of season,' 'the dead of night.' See c. 32.—'M. Porcium Laecam:' Cicero says (in Cat. i. 4) that the meeting was at Laeca's house. He says (pro Sulla, c. 18) that this meeting was in the night, "quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembr.," which some understand as meaning the 7th of November, and others as the 6th. The 'posterus dies Nonarum' is the 6th, and as the meeting was 'intempesta nocte,' it would be late at night on the 6th and early in the morning of the 7th of November. A comparison of the passage in the oration Pro Sulla, with the first chapter of the first oration against Catilina, and with other passages in that oration, shows that the meeting

cium Laecam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.

28. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de improviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. Ita illi janua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat, praeterea latrones cujusque

was in the night of the 6th or after midnight on the morning of the 7th of November of the unreformed Roman calendar.—'ibique:' there is nothing for 'ibi' to refer to, but perhaps he means Laeca's house, where the conspirators met, as Cicero says.

paraverat] Allen remarks that this indirect form ('obliqua oratio') requires 'paraverit' or 'parasset,' which is true; but the subjunctive, which is the genuine form in such a kind of speech, is not always observed. See Jug. 38, 'tenet.'

28. *C. Cornelius*] See c. 17. Cicero (pro Sulla, c. 18) speaks of Cornelius undertaking to assassinate him. In another place (in Cat. i. 4) he says that two Equites undertook the murder. He names Vargunteius (pro Sulla, c. 2) as one of the conspirators, but that is all.—'ea nocte:' that would be early in the morning of the 7th of November. Cicero says that they intended to pay their respects to him at early morn ('prima luce'). This was Roman fashion to wait on people early in the morning. The Romans were early risers.

"Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora."—Martial iv. 8.

domi suae] One MS. omits these words, and some omit 'suae' only. Cort thinks that we must either erase both words or keep both of them.

janua] The 'janitor' would not let them in. He kept the door and turned away people whom his master did not choose to see.

"Si per invisum mora janitorem
Fiet, abito."—Horace.

Gellius (xvi. 5) says, "Qui domus igitur amplas antiquitus faciebant, locum ante januam vacuam relinquebant, qui inter fores domus et viam medius esset: in eo loco qui dominum ejus domus salutatum venerant, priusquam admitterentur, consistebant, et neque in via stabant neque intra aedis erant."

amiserat] Etruria suffered greatly under Sulla. Many of the Etrurians who had belonged to the Marian

generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

29. Ea quum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, Darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magis-

faction, were turned out of their lands, which were given to others. These poor people were now ready to join the men who had seized their property and spent it. Allen reads 'amiserant.'

latrones] We read of robbers being numerous in Italy at this time, as they are in some parts now. The police of the Republic was no better than that of the Pope.—'nihil reliqui:' see c. 11.

29. *ancipiti*] He explains this 'double danger' by the clauses 'neque—neque.' Caesar fighting a battle on two different lines or fronts calls it 'anceps proelium' (B. G. i. 26).—'privato consilio:' opposed to 'publicum consilium.' He could not venture any longer to trust to his own judgment. Jacobs says that this is the only passage in which Sallust uses 'longius' in this sense.—'rem — refert:' the usual words to express the laying of a matter before the Senate for consultation. — 'exagitatam:' the MSS. reading is 'rem—exagitatam.' Cort says that he should prefer 'exagitatum,' and Kritz, Jacobs, and others have injudiciously preferred it. Allen has 'exagitatam.'

atroci negotio] 'In a case of danger' to the state.—'solet:' 'is usual,' equivalent to 'fieri solet.'—'decrevit, Darent:' 'ne' is omitted after 'decrevit,' as it is sometimes omitted with words of a like meaning with 'decernere.' — 'Darent—caperet' is the usual form of a Senatus consultum by which the consuls were armed with absolute power for the protection of the Roman state. In the Roman constitution this was a wise thing, and it often saved the state. Such too was the Dictatorship in earlier times, a power which was conferred in regular form for a limited time and for a particular purpose. (Machiavelli, Discorsi, i. c. 34.)

Ea potestas] This is the word which expresses 'authority.' It is explained by the infinitives 'exercitum parare,' &c. The translation is, 'that is the largest authority which is delegated to a Roman magistrate.' Cort following Gronovius mistakes 'ea' for the ablative, and supplies such a word as 'sententia' or 'formula.' 'Judicium' refers to 'domi' and 'imperium' to 'militiae.'—'aliter:' 'in no other way,' 'on no other occasion.' 'Jussu' is the word which expresses the will of the people declared in regular form. The Romans say 'populus jubet,' when the 'populus' gives its consent to a 'lex.' There is a reading 'nulli,' and if we accept 'nulli,' it must be the genitive, for the position of 'nulli' shows that it cannot agree with 'consuli.' 'Nullus' has both the forms 'nullius' and 'nulli' in the genitive. 'In all other cases without the authority of the populus the consul has no legal power in any one of these things,' 'to do any one

tratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque judicium summum habere; aliter sine populi jussu nullius earum rerum consuli jus est.

30. Post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in senatu literas recitavit, quas Faesulis allatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna

of these things.' The 'consul' means 'the consuls,' the singular being often used when the writer is speaking, not of the consuls personally, but of the consular authority.

It has been remarked that Sallust's narrative does not agree with Cicero's as to the time when the Senatus consultum 'Darent operam' was made. Cicero's first speech against Catilina was delivered on the 8th of November (B.C. 63), and he says in that speech (c. 1), "we have a Senatus consultum directed against you, Catilina;" and he says (c. 2), "it is now the twentieth day that we have had such a Senatus consultum, but still shut up in our journals (tabulis), like a sword sheathed in its scabbard, which Senatus consultum, Catilina, gave the power of putting you to death immediately." This was said on the 8th of November, from which day to the 21st of October there are only seventeen days, and if we include the 21st of October and the 8th of November, still only nineteen days. But Cicero uses round numbers. Kritz assigns the Senatus consultum to Oct. 22nd.

Cicero then says that he brought the matter of the conspiracy before the Senate, and that the Senatus consultum 'Ne quid' was made on that day. But he says that it was not published ('inclusum in tabulis'), and nothing was done by Cicero in consequence. Sallust says that the matter was brought before the Senate, and that the Senatus consultum was made after the meeting at Lacca's house, which was on the 6th of November, according to Cicero. In order to reconcile Sallust and Cicero, Jacobs supposes that the passage from 'Postremo ubi multa agitanti' (c. 27) to the words 'facinus frustra susceperant' (c. 28) should be inserted immediately before the words 'Postremo dissimulandi caussa' (c. 31). Linker, quoted by Jacobs (Vorwort vii), thinks that it appears from the agreement in the narrative of Plutarch (Life of Cicero) and Dion Cassius (27, c. 31, &c.), that both of these writers found the text of Sallust in its right order, that is, in the order which Jacobs proposes.

30. *Post paucos dies*] The Romans also wrote 'post paucis diebus,' where I think 'post' is an adverb. —'recitavit:' so they said when letters were read publicly. The letter from Faesulae said that Manlius had taken up arms on the 27th of October. If the letter was sent from Faesulae on the 27th, it might reach Rome before the end of October. At the end of October then, or in the beginning of November, Saenius may have read this letter, and this reading took place, according to Sallust, a few days after the Senatus consultum 'Ne quid,' which may be a few days after the 21st of October, and this would agree with Cicero's dates. But Cicero says (in Cat. i. 3) that he had said in the Senate on the 21st of October, that Manlius would be in arms on the 27th of October, which means, if it means any thing, that he had heard so, and Saenius' letter, as Sallust says, informed him that Manlius was in arms on the 27th.

multitudine ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi; hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat; sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, hisque permissum uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quae contra rem

quod—solet] Portents and prodigies were always talked of in Rome when there was any danger.—'senati:' one form of the genitive. So they wrote sometimes 'tumulti' in the genitive.

Q. Marcius Rex] Consul in B.C. 68. In B.C. 67 he was proconsul of Cilicia, and he was now claiming a triumph for some services there. Q. Metellus Creticus was consul in B.C. 69. In B.C. 68 he was proconsul, and conducted the war in Crete for three years, and hence he had his name Creticus. Both these men were waiting outside the walls ('ad urbem erant') for the decision about their claims to a triumph, for while they held their commission ('imperium') they could not enter the city, or, in other words, their commission would have been terminated by entering the city, and also their claim for a triumph.—'hi utrique:' he might have said 'horum uterque,' which is the common form. See c. 5. Cort has incorrectly 'ii utrique.' —'calumnia:' the Roman 'calumnia' is a fraudulent design to give another man trouble (Marcianus, Dig. 48. 16. 1). Sallust probably alludes to Cn. Pompeius, who was a jealous man. By the Lex Manilia (B.C. 66), which gave Pompeius the command in the Mithridatic war, he considered that Marcius was only *one of his* legati instead of having an independent command; and by the Lex Gabinia (B.C. 67), which gave Pompeius the command in the war against the pirates, he considered Metellus as one of his legati in Crete; and as a triumph was not properly claimed by a man who acted under another, Pompeius opposed the claims of both these generals. Metellus however had his triumph in B.C. 62.—'honesta atque inhonesta:' 'every thing:' Sallust's way of writing. See Jug. c. 31.—'Rufus:' he had the province of Africa in B.C. 61. Metellus Celer had served under Pompeius in Asia. In B.C. 62 he had with the title of proconsul the province of Gallia Citerior, which Cicero gave up to him (c. 26). In B.C. 60 he was consul. He died in B.C. 59, poisoned by his own wife Clodia, as Cicero insinuates without giving any evidence (pro Caelio, c. 24).

indicavisset] This is the Roman word. The noun is 'indicium.'—'praemium decrevere:' Cort omits 'decrevere,' and places in [ ] the 'decrevere' after 'itemque.' The text as it stands here is probably not right, though there is no difficulty in the meaning. Allen, following R. S. Bryce's correction, writes 'praemium servo . . . decrevere: item uti gladiatoriae,' which is sufficient.—'sestertia centum:' a hundred times a thousand 'sestertii.'

publicam facta erat, praemium decrevere servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem ejus rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque minores magistratus praeessent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat; ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus [incesserat], afflictare sese, manus supplices ad coelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi caussa aut sui

—'gladiatoriae familiae:' 'the companies,' we may say; but if we follow the meaning of 'familia,' we must conclude that a 'gladiatoria familia' is a number of gladiators belonging to one man, or at least under the care of one person.—'pro cujusque opibus:' 'according to the means of each town to receive them.' —'minores magistratus:' the division of 'magistratus' into Majores and Minores was founded on the division of the 'auspicia majora' and 'auspicia minora.' The 'magistratus majores' were consuls, praetors, and censors. All the rest were 'minores.' (Gellius xiii. 15, on the authority of Messala.) But the term 'minores magistratus' had also a narrower meaning, which comprehended only those magistrates who were below the rank of quaestor, which office of quaestor was that which first qualified a man for admission into the Senate.

31. *festinare*] Festus (p. 127, ed. Lind.) says that 'festinare' applies to one who begins many things at once, and does not finish them. The word therefore expresses the uneasiness and unsettled thoughts of the people. (Kritz.)

rei publicae magnitudine] 'To whom by reason of the power of the Roman state the fear of war was strange.' Cort has omitted 'incesserat;' and rightly, I think.

praesidia parabantur] 'Protection or measures against his designs were preparing.' — 'lege Plautia,' or 'Plotia de vi,' was a Lex enacted in B.C. 89 against those who were forming designs to disturb the state by violence. It was a Lex directed against rioting ('seditio') and disturbing the public peace. As to 'interrogatus' see c. 18. L. Paulus was L. Aemilius Paulus, probably a son of M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. B.C. 78. He was the brother of M. Aemilius Lepidus, triumvir with M. Antonius and C. Caesar Octavianus, and cos. B.C. 50. Catilina left the city before he could be tried.

Postremo] Linker proposes to write 'Postero die.' See c. 29. Im-

expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare, patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum pluruma beneficia

mediately before 'postremo' or 'postero die' it is proposed to insert the story about the meeting in Laeca's house. See c. 27, and c. 29, note.

aut sui] 'Atque sui,' Cort; 'et ut sui,' Kritz, which some MSS. have. 'Sui expurgandi' is a common form of expression. Caesar has it (B. G. iii. 4. 6; iv. 13, &c.), and it is used both when 'sui' is singular and plural.—'sicuti' is explained by Cort as equivalent to 'quasi.' 'Jurgium' generally means a brawl or wordy quarrel, in which sense Cicero (pro Caelio, c. 13) opposes it to 'publica quaestio,' with which Catilina was threatened. 'Jurgium' is derived by Varro from 'jure agendo.' He is right as to the first part, but I believe that the word is an abbreviated form of 'juridicium,' of which 'judicium' is another abbreviated form, like 'provintia' ('provincia') and 'prudentia,' both of them abbreviated forms of 'providentia.' Cort thinks that the 'jurgio' may refer to the prosecution ('interrogatio') by Paulus, and it may. Allen refers to Tacitus (xiv. 49), "optimum quemque jurgio lacessens et respondenti reticens," but that does not support Cort's interpretation.

orationem habuit] On the 8th of November Cicero delivered the first oration against Catilina, on the day but one after the meeting at Laeca's house (see c. 27). 'Luculentam' is 'luminous,' 'clear.' 'Scriptam edidit,' 'he wrote and published;' as Cicero (ad Att. ii. 1) tells us. This and the other three orations against Catilina were included among Cicero's 'orationes consulares,' the orations which he delivered during his consulship.

ut erat paratus] "The particle 'ut' with 'esse' presents the cause of any fact, which cause lies in a man's peculiar temper or in the nature of the thing, and presents it in such a way that the fact or result is compared with its cause." (Kritz.) Catilina was by his nature fitted for dissembling any thing. Kritz compares Jug. c. 7. This use of 'ut' is common in Cicero and in Caesar, B. G. iii. 8; vi. 30; vii. 22. This use of 'ut' involves a connexion between one thing and another in the way of cause and effect, or in the relation of a general truth to a particular instance. The word 'for' will generally express the meaning. —'vitam instituisse:' 'so formed and regulated his life.'—'omnia bona—haberet:' 'that he could hope for (in spe haberet) all that was best.'

majorum] See c. 5.—'populum Romanum:' Cort's reading is 'plebem Romanam,' but he does not approve of it. The abbreviation 'p. r.,' which often occurs, has led to many errors. It is very unlikely that Catilina would speak of the 'plebs Romana' instead of the 'populus Romanus.'—'inquilinus' probably is the adjective form of 'incola.' Cicero having left his native town, Arpinum, was 'exsul'

in populum Romanum essent, perdita re publica opus esse, quum eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus civis urbis Romae. Ad hoc maledicta alia quum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam."

32. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optumum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius quam legiones scriberentur [multa] antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia aliaque belli facinora parent; sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis hujuscemodi.

33. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma

with respect to it, and he was 'inquilinus' as a settler at Rome. An 'inquilinus' was one who lived in a hired house. A 'colonus' was one who cultivated hired land, or who cultivated the land of another and paid part of the produce as rent.

parricidam] See c. 14.—'praeceps agor:' 'driven to desperation.' See c. 25, 'praeceps abierat.' Cicero (pro Murena, c. 25) says that, Catilina said this a few days before the 21st of October,—"quum idem ille (Catilina) paucis diebus ante Catoni, fortissimo viro, judicium minitanti ac denuncianti respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum."

32. *optumum factu*] 'Optimum factum,' Cort, and also in other passages (c. 55 and 57).

scriberentur] 'Enrolled.' The Romans said both 'scribere' and 'conscribere' in this sense.—'nocte:' the night of the 8th of November, the day on which the first speech of Cicero was delivered. On the next day Cicero delivered before the people his second speech against Catilina, of which he thus speaks when he is enumerating his 'orationes consulares:' "Septima (est) qua Catilinam emisi; octava, quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit."—'mandat—maturent:' 'ut' may be used with 'maturent' or omitted. 'Mandare' means 'to give instructions' ('mandata'). 'Quibus rebus possent:' such a form of expression is often placed between two parts of a sentence.

ex suo numero legatos] i. e. 'ex suorum numero.' (Kritz.) Caesar, B. G. i. 47, says, "Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum." In this passage of Sallust Cort omits 'legatos.'

neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent, qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus; neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti, neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere; tanta saevitia feneratorum atque praetoris fuit. Saepe majores vostrum miseriti plebis Romanae decretis suis inopiae ejus opitulati sunt; ac novissume memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum aere solutum est. Saepe

33. *aliis faceremus*] 'Homini faceremus,' Cort, from one MS.; 'homini' meaning, as he supposes, 'any body.'—'qui miseri:' 'qui' refers to the personal pronoun which is contained in 'nostra.'—'patriae—fortunis expertes:' he uses 'expertes' with a genitive, 'patriae,' and also with an ablative, 'fama atque fortunis.' Manlius means that these debtors had fled from their creditors, and could not show themselves at their usual dwelling-place. Insolvency was followed by loss of character. All a man's property was liable to be sold by auction. Cicero in his oration Pro P. Quintio, makes a pathetic picture of the misery of being sold up.—'lege uti:' he does not say what 'lex,' but generally 'to take the benefit of the lex,' as we speak of a man taking the benefit of the insolvent act.—'liberum corpus:' he says that they could not save their persons from imprisonment by giving up their property ('amisso patrimonio'). Yet there was a Lex Poetelia Papiria enacted in B.C. 326, or it may be a few years later, which declared that a man's property should be liable for his debts, but that his person should be free (Livy viii. 28). By the old law the creditor had power over the person of his debtor: he could keep him in confinement and treat him as a slave. But all the matter of debtor and creditor at Rome in the old times, and the condition of Addictus and Nexus are very obscure, and cannot be explained here. Even after the enactment of the Lex Poetelia we read of debtors being 'addicti,' assigned to the creditor to treat them as the law allowed, whatever it did allow. The Lex Julia de bonis cedendis, of uncertain date, but after the time of which Sallust is writing, released a debtor from all personal execution, if he gave up his property for the benefit of his creditors. (Gaius iii. 78.) This Lex Julia was a kind of bankrupt and insolvent law.

praetoris] The 'praetor urbanus,' who was the chief administrator of the law at Rome during his year of office. He could either act with great severity, and apply the law in all its force, or he could act with leniency to a debtor; for we may collect from Cicero and other writers that the praetor had a considerable discretion. However as Sallust speaks of the severity of the creditors, whom here he calls money-lenders ('feneratorum'), and of the praetor, he may mean no more than this, that the creditor insisted on his rights, and the praetor did not or could not help the unfortunate debtor.

argentum aere] The law of debtor and creditor and the regulation of the rate of interest make a curious and instructive chapter in Roman history and in modern history. The unwise rules of the Romans on these

ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis, neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis ut quaeramus, quonam modo maxume ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus."

34. Ad haec Q. Marcius respondit: si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit. At Catilina ex itinere

matters have appeared again in modern times in our own country and in others. Tacitus (Ann. vi. 16) says that the Lex Duodecim Tabularum fixed the rate of interest at an uncia ('ne quis unciario fenore amplius exerceret'), which probably means that the annual interest was one-twelfth of the principal sum. Before this time the money men got what interest they could. Afterwards, Tacitus says, a bill brought in by some tribune, some popularity man of the day, reduced the legal interest one-half ('ad semuncias'). But all this helped not the debtor, for a debtor must always pay for the use of money what it is worth. The Romans, as already observed, occasionally settled matters by a general insolvent act. The act to which Manlius alludes was a Lex Valeria, proposed by L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. B.C. 86), by which creditors were paid their demands by a 'quadrans,' one-fourth of their debt. ("Valerius Flaccus turpissimae legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi jusserat," Vell. ii. 23.) After the second Punic War the denarius was made equivalent to sixteen asses, and as the sestertius was a fourth of the denarius, it would contain four asses. The sestertius was silver, and the as was copper, and so a man who owed a sestertius would pay his debt by giving his creditor one copper as; just as a bankrupt now pays five shillings in the pound or less. This kind of arrangement is very convenient to a man who has nothing but debts, and very unsatisfactory to a man who owes nothing and has claims against others.

ipsa plebes] He alludes to these events in Jug. c. 31, where he speaks of the 'plebes' having twice in arms occupied the Aventine. Jacobs says that the third 'secessio' was to the Mons Janiculus (B.C. 287), and the cause of it was debt and the law about debt. (Livy, Epit. 11.)

34. *ab eo*] Both senate and people.

ex itinere] 'While he was on the road.' So the Romans wrote, when a man did any thing on the road without stopping his journey: "quas ex itinere . . . ad me literas misisti" (Cicero, ad Fam. iii. 9); or when he did any thing immediately after his journey, something which immediately followed the journey: "id ex itinere . . . Belgae oppugnare coeperunt" (Caesar, B. G. ii. 6). This was a falsehood about his in-

plerisque consularibus, praeterea optumo cuique literas mittit: se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur. Ab his longe divorsas literas Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat; earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

35. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam mediusfidius veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam

tention of going to Marseille.—'optumo cuique:' an 'optimus' is one of the 'optimates.' It is not one of the best men, though a man might be one of the 'optimates' and 'optimus' too; but it is a man of the highest rank.—'se—cedere:' so they wrote in the infinitive. In his letters he declared 'se fortunae cedere,' 'that he submitted to his bad fortune.'

Q. Catulus] Son of the Catulus who with C. Marius commanded the armies of Rome against the Cimbri in North Italy. The son was consul in B.C. 78 with M. Aemilius Lepidus. He was a man of weight and a defender of the old constitution.—'nomine Catilinae:' it was a letter addressed to Catulus, as the letter (c. 35) shows, and from Catilina. Sallust means that Catulus said that the letter was delivered ('redditas') to him at Catilina's request. Sallust gives a copy ('exemplum'): this is the Roman word for the copy of any thing. He intends us to understand that we have the original.

35. *re cognita*] 'Known by experience.' Catulus is said to have helped Catilina on his trial for 'incestum' (c. 15).—'grata mihi:' Cort alters the text thus: 'gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi.'—'commendationi:' this is explained by the end of the letter 'Orestillam commendo.'

Quamobrem] 'Wherefore,' refers to his 'fiducia.' 'In novo consilio,' 'in taking this unusual step.' Catilina makes no defence of what he was going to do, for he assumes that Catulus will not blame him. —'satisfactionem ex,' &c.: 'an explanation founded on no consciousness of blame I have determined to place before you, which explanation, so may the god of good faith help me, you may allow to be true.'—'mediusfidius' is a short way of saying 'ita me deus' or 'deus fidius servet.' 'Deus fidius,' as Kritz remarks, is the Greek Ζεὺς πίστιος (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. ii. 49).

statum dignitatis] 'I did not maintain the position of my rank.' Having been rejected in his attempts to be elected consul, he was not maintaining the station which his great birth and his services gave him.

miserorum caussam pro mea consuetudine suscepi; non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, quum et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret, sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum sequutus. Plura quum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado; eam ab injuria defendas per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto."

36. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollici-

—'publicam—caussam:' he means 'the cause of the wretched as a matter of public concern' ('publicam').—'non quin:' 'not that I could not pay my own debts' ('aes alienum meis nominibus'). 'Nomen' is the entry of the debtor's name in the creditor's books, and hence 'a debt.' 'Nomina mea' is 'my debts,' and 'nomina aliena' is 'other men's debts,' debts for which he had become security. He says that he could pay his own debts out of his own property ('possessiones'), for 'possessiones' means that. Cort blunders about the word. He quotes Festus to prove that 'possessiones' properly means that of which we have only a 'usus fructus,' in which we have only a life estate; and that as Catilina was now insolvent and lived on his wife's means, this is the proper signification. But this is absurd. His property was his own so long as he held it. Cort then quotes Ulpian, who says, "naturaliter videtur possidere is qui usum fructum habet," a passage which Cort entirely misunderstands. Ulpian means that he who has a life estate is said to possess 'naturaliter,' he is in possession in a sense, he holds and occupies; but he does not possess ('non possidet'), as Ulpian says elsewhere. He does not 'possess' as owner. —'non dignos:' Cicero, and perhaps others.

alienatum] Kritz explains this word to mean 'neglectum, projectum;' but it refers to 'honore.'

Hoc nomine] 'For this reason,' because he had been so ill-treated, as he says, 'I have taken a resolution which gives me fair hopes, considering my present condition (pro meo casu), of preserving what character yet remains to me.'

Plura quum] Jacobs says that these words show that Catilina wrote this letter in Rome. That is not a certain conclusion, but it is likely enough.

36. *C. Flaminium*] 'C. Flaminium Flammam,' Cort on the authority of one MS.—'Arretino:' in the territory of Arretium (Arezzo) in the north part of Etruria. Cicero (in Cat. ii. 4) says that Catilina left Rome by the Via Aurelia, which ran along the west coast of Etruria.—'vicinitatem:' Sallust uses 'vicinitas' to signify the people who are in the state of 'vicinitas;' just as the Romans used 'nobilitas' and 'civitas' to express the class of persons who possessed 'nobilitas' and 'civitas.'—'cum fascibus' &c.: this was open rebellion, the assumption of the signs of authority, like a proconsul or propraetor. Plutarch and Appian say the same. See c. 18, 'correptis fascibus.'

tatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostis judicat, ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Praeterea decernit, uti consules delectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume miserabile visum est; cui quum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, affluerent, fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat; tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

37. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat qui conscii

hostis] This word now signified one who bore arms against Rome, but originally it merely signified a foreigner ('peregrinus') as Cicero says (de Off. i. 12).—'sine fraude:' this was a technical word. It means that all men except those condemned of 'res capitales' might lay down their arms before a certain day without being called to account ('sine fraude'). 'Sine fraude' is the same as 'impune.' The dative 'fraudi,' which is equivalent to 'detrimento,' explains the meaning, 'quae res nemini unquam fraudi fuit' (Cicero). Yet 'fraus' properly is the 'offence' or 'crime,' which leads, as Ulpian says (Dig. 50. 16. 131), to 'poena,' and so 'sine fraude' is equivalent to 'without any charge being laid to a man's account.' 'Res capitales' are matters which affected a Roman's civil condition, not capital charges in our sense.

cui quum—parerent] This form of expression is quite different from any that we have. It means 'for though all the world to the setting of the sun from the rising obeyed it (cui), . . . still there were citizens (fuere tamen cives) ready to ruin themselves and the state.' 'Perditum' is thus joined with 'ire.' It was a familiar expression.

Namque duobus] 'For though the Senate made two resolutions.' This use of the ablative expresses a state or condition of circumstances; see c. 11, 'bonis initiis.' Two of the Senate's resolutions had been published about the conspiracy, and yet no man gave information, and no man quitted Catilina's camp. This was certainly a proof of a desperate conspiracy, but also a proof that people were much dissatisfied with the present state of affairs. The first 'decretum' is that which is mentioned in c. 30.

37. *aliena*] 'a re publica,' Cort.—'cuncta plebes:' he says that all the 'plebes,' all the common sort, were for revolution or for change, a proof,

conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero praeceps erat multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis mili-

as already remarked, of great dissatisfaction with the state of affairs, but no proof that any body had any real improvement to propose.

Id adeo] Kritz compares Jug. c. 110. 'Adeo' is 'ad' and 'eo,' and it means 'so far.' The precise meaning must be got from the context. 'Adeo' here affirms and strengthens 'id,' 'that indeed.'

bonis—malos] The 'boni' are the rich, the friends of things as they are, the respectable. Those who have nothing ('quibus opes nullae sunt') are rather an indeterminate class. Every man has something, a few rags at least to cover him; though it is hard to say how every man contrives to get them. Sallust appears to be speaking generally of an idle class who had no regular means of living. He adds, 'they are fed by disturbance and by civil commotion without any care or trouble on their part, since a needy condition is easily supported, as it brings no loss or damage.' (See c. 1, note on 'habetur.') Such people may gain something by disturbance, but the gain cannot last, because all the members of society ultimately suffer from insecurity. Sallust is right in one thing. Such people bear their destitution easily, for they have nothing to lose ('sine damno'); nothing in a sense, if we compare them with the wealthy and the industrious; but as they live on the wealthy and industrious by begging or stealing, their resources will be diminished when the resources of wealth and industry are diminished. Thus even the idle fellow who lives by fraud and begging, has an interest in maintaining security. The fact is, that Sallust did not know, or affected not to know, in what way the poor in Rome lived; nor do many of the rich now know how the poor live among us. Swinburne (Travels in the Two Sicilies, i. s. 7) tells us in what way many of the poor of Naples lived at the end of the last century; and many of the poor in Sallust's days lived in the same way.

ea vero] He has already said 'cuncta plebes.' Now he speaks of the 'urbana plebes,' and adds for emphasis' sake 'ea vero.' Kritz compares c. 12, "Proinde quasi . . . id demum;" c. 20, "Idem velle . . . ea demum."—'praeceps:' all the 'plebes' favoured Catilina, but the 'plebes' of Rome gave headlong into the revolutionary movement.

probro—praestabant] 'Who were noted for a bad name.' 'Petulantia,' which contains 'pet,' has the notion of aggression. It is opposed to 'pudor,' 'modest behaviour.' 'Petulantia' may then mean 'insolence,' 'quarrelsomeness.'—'sentinam:' all

tibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites ut regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque si in armis foret ex victoria talia sperabat. Praeterea juventus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat; eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, rei publicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum

the rascals flocked to Rome, as all the water which gets into a ship sinks down to the bottom and forms the bilge water. Cicero (in Cat. i. 5) says, "Sin tu exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae."

senatores] "(Sulla) senatum ex equestri ordine supplevit." (Liv. Ep. 89.) The Romans had seen in their revolutions men rise from the lowest condition and from poverty to rank and wealth, and such an example encouraged others to hope for the same good luck from another revolution.

victu atque cultu] 'Victus,' as Kritz says, is good living, eating and drinking well, which are a large part of human enjoyment. 'Cultus' is dress and the like. L. Luscius, one of Sulla's centurions, became so rich through Sulla's revolution, that his property was estimated at more than 'centies.' (Ascon. in Cic. Or. in Toga Cand. p. 91.)—'sperabant,' Cort.

manuum mercede] 'Merces' is 'wages,' 'hire.' He says that there were many country folks who maintained themselves by wages, or as he expresses it. 'endured their poverty' ('inopiam toleraverant,' see c. 24). It appears that all the land in Italy was not cultivated by slaves. These men were invited to Rome by 'private and public donations,' by what they could get from individuals for their votes, we must assume, for they had nothing else to give in return for what they received, and the Romans did not give something for nothing; and also by the munificence of the aediles and the splendour of the public shows. Still all this was a very uncertain thing to trust to, and we must suppose that these men who flocked to Rome lived a miserable existence, crowded in small rooms, as in large modern cities, and picking up a living by hawking things about the streets, and doing any odd jobs. They would be the vendors of parched peas and nuts, whom Horace alludes to (A. P. 249).—'malum publicum:' he says 'them and all others' of the class whom he has mentioned. We cannot translate his 'malum publicum' literally. He means 'all such people were maintained to the detriment of the state,' or 'it was the bad condition of the state which enabled such people to live.' He writes like a proud and ignorant man, who looked on the needy as so much vermin.

juxta ac sibi] 'Cared as little for the state as themselves,' were careless about the future altogether. Kritz compares Cat. 61, 'juxta pepercerant.' See c. 2, 'juxta.'

jus—imminutum] 'Their civil rights impaired' by the Lex Cornelia de Proscriptione (B.C. 81), a Lex, the maintenance of which Cicero defended in his consulship. "Adjectum etiam (lege Cornelia) ut bona proscriptorum venirent, exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum jure prohiberentur,"

erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc quicumque aliarum atque senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.

38. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque

&c. (Vell. ii. 28.) Cicero in his oration against Piso (c. 2), says that he opposed the repeal of this unjust Lex, because the sons of the proscribed were in such a position, that if they should obtain the high offices of the state, it seemed likely that they would convulse the republic, and he admits that he got ill will by opposing their just demands. These men might indeed have attempted to get indemnity for their losses, or to recover their property from men who held it only under Sulla's grant. No doubt if justice had been done them, they would have caused Cicero and his friends some trouble, and so Cicero preferred maintaining an unjust law, though it increased the number of the enemies of the state, and gave Catilina and others a specious pretext for revolution. Cicero's speech against the repeal of the Lex Cornelia was made before Catilina broke out in rebellion. The sons of the proscribed had at least grounds for a revolution.

aliarum atque] A common form, which means 'quicumque aliarum partium erant atque senatus aliarum erat.' Sallust admits that the Senate, the 'nobiles,' were on one side, and every body else on the other side.

Id adeo malum] 'To such a degree had this mischief;' this mischief was the revival of a party opposed to the Senate and the 'nobiles.' He explains in the next chapter what he means. He says 'many years,' though it was only eleven years, as the next chapter will explain. Cort thinks that Sallust reckons from the time of the Gracchi (Jug. 41, 42), a space of sixty years.

38. *tribunicia potestas*] The power of the Tribuni was restored in B.C. 70. L. Sulla had almost deprived the Tribuni pl. of their power: "Hoc consulatu Pompeius tribunitiam potestatem restituit, cujus Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat" (Vell. ii. 30). C. Caesar supported Pompeius and Crassus in the restoration of the authority of the Tribuni pl. (Sueton. Caesar, 5). Sulla's Lex declared that a man who had been tribune should be incapable of holding any other office (Appian, B. C. i. 100; Asconius, ad Cic. Cornel. p. 78), and consequently many who aspired to the highest offices would not have the tribunate. The Lex also disabled the Tribuni pl. from proposing any legislative measure to the tribes (Liv. Epit. 89), and took from them the power of holding public meetings to address the people. This was an attack on the liberty of speech, for it was at public meetings that the Tribuni pl. used to tell the people their mind, and attack the Senate and the nobility. The Tribuni pl. used their power and often abused it; but the power was necessary, for a free state cannot exist without freedom of speech and contention.

summam potestatem] He means the office of Tribuni. It does not appear that it was required that a man should be a certain age before he was eligible to the tribunate, though a certain age was required for the quaestorship and the curule offices.

ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas senatus specie pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis [verum] absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant; neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat; utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

39. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritumum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere, ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis

senatus specie] The 'nobilitas,' the nobles most of them, opposed these young demagogues, and under the pretext of maintaining the constitution ('senatus specie'), but really for their own aggrandizement. —'[verum] absolvam:' Cort omits '[verum].'

per illa tempora] If he means any precise time, he means the time from B.C. 70, when the tribunitian power was restored, and new party contests began, to the events mentioned in the beginning of the next chapter.—'rem publicam agitavere:' 'disturbed the state.'—'honestis nominibus:' this refers to all that follows as far as 'certabant,' 'making use of fair names,' 'alleging fair reasons.'—'sicuti:' 'as if.' He uses it like 'quasi.'—'populi jura:' 'the rights of the people,' or 'popular rights,' as we say. 'Populus' is here opposed to 'senatus,' or 'nobilitas.'—'modestia—modus:' see c. 11.

39. *maritumum*] In B.C. 67 Cn. Pompeius was commissioned under a Lex Gabinia to clear the seas of pirates. In B.C. 66 he received under a Lex Manilia, which Cicero supported in a speech which is still extant, a commission to finish the war with Mithridates. The absence of Pompeius, who had been a leader of the popular party, gave the senatorial party the opportunity of recovering their power.

innoxii] 'Safe from harm.' They were strong in their party, and feared nobody so long as Cn. Pompeius was away. — 'judiciis terrere:' 'they alarmed the rest with threats of prosecutions, that if they (the rest) obtained a magistracy (the tribunate) they might handle the common sort in a quieter way,' that is, not stir them up against the Senate, the 'nobiles,' the 'boni,' or, in other words, against those who held the power. (Kritz.) Jacobs remarks on 'quo plebem,' that 'ipsi' is the subject, and 'placidius' means the effect of the 'tractatio' on the behaviour of the people; and he says that the sense is 'quo ipsi in magistratu plebem tractantes placidiore ea uterentur.' Cort has the same explanation as Kritz.

dubiis rebus] A usual ablative, 'when danger came' or a critical

rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quodsi primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.

Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt; in his [erat] A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscunque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cujusquemodi genus hominum quod modo bello usui foret.

40. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti

time. 'Eorum' is the 'plebes,' says Jacobs. It is the 'ceteros,' says Kritz. Cort has 'novandis,' the reading of nearly all the MSS., which he explains thus: "rebus, quae sive dum dubiae erant, novandis spes oblata est." Servius (ad Aen. iv. 290, "quae sit rebus causa novandis") says, "Sallustius, Quae causa fuerat novandis rebus." So Servius seems not to have read 'dubiis' in Sallust, but it is in the MSS. Burmann takes 'dubiis' to be the dative, 'dubiis seu hominibus,' which is not a good explanation. It may be the ablative, and yet 'novandis,' if it is right, may agree with 'rebus' understood.

diutius—quin] 'Nor would those, who had got the victory, have been allowed to enjoy it long, before one with greater power (qui plus posset) would have wrested the administration and liberty from them, when they were exhausted and had lost their strength.' 'Quin' follows 'multum,' 'diutius,' and other words when there is a negative notion connected with 'multum' or 'diutius,' by means of 'abest' or the like. Here the negative notion is 'neque licuisset.'

Those who make a revolution, it is said, do not always reap the fruits of their labours. Somebody comes after them, more powerful or more cunning, and seizes the power. Sallust cannot mean that such a one takes from them (the 'defessi') the power, for he adds 'and liberty;' or if he does mean this, he has not expressed himself well. I suppose that he means 'he wrests the power from those who held it, and destroys liberty too.'

Fuere tamen] After this digression he resumes his narrative from the words 'urbi praesidio sit' (c. 36).—'necari jussit:' by virtue of his parental authority ('patria potestas'), say the commentators, but they do not prove what they say, nor can they prove it. The paternal authority was very great at Rome, but it was not exactly the same as a master's power over a slave. If this father ordered his son to be killed, we may believe that under the circumstances no inquiry was made about it.

40. *P. Umbreno*] He was a 'libertinus' (Cic. in Cat. iii. 6). Cicero also speaks of Q. Manlius Chilo, or Q. Annius Chilo, having dealt

legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque si possit impellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatium notus erat atque eos noverat; itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens ejus casum requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent? Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxili nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare: "At ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare ut sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena consili propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit quo major auctoritas sermoni

with the Allobroges. If the man's name is Q. Annius Chilo, he may be the man who is mentioned in c. 17.—'Allobrogum:' a Gallic nation who lived between the Rhone and the Isara (Isère). They possessed Geneva (Caesar, B. G. i. 6), in which town they were the neighbours of the Helvetii. They had been conquered by Q. Fabius Maximus (B.C. 121), but the Romans did not trust them (Cic. in Cat. iii. 9).—'publice privatimque:' the Romans had imposed contributions on the state ('publice') of the Allobroges, and many of the people had borrowed money from the Romans and had heavy interest to pay.

negotiatus erat] Umbrenus was a 'negotiator,' one of the money-making Italians who took their capitals to the Roman provinces, where money was scarce. They lent their money at a high rate of interest, and bought up corn or any thing by which they could make profit (Jug. 26. 64).

exitum—malis] 'Malis' is probably the dative,—'what end or issue of their troubles they hoped for.'

magistratuum] The Roman governor of the Provincia, and others who were in authority under him.

ista mala] 'Those troubles which you have.'

D. Bruti] See c. 25.—'neque aliena consili:' 'not ill adapted for their purpose.' Jacobs says that this is the only case in which Sallust has used 'alienus' with a genitive.

Gabinium] See c. 17.—'arcessit:' Kritz and Jacobs write 'accersit.' Cort, who has a good note here, says that most of the MSS. have 'accersit,' but not all. He correctly explains the word as compounded of 'ar,' a form of 'ad,' and 'cesso,' which is related to 'cio,' as 'capio' to 'capesso.' He adds that the 'melior aetas' always wrote 'arcessit.' But it is probable that the

inesset. Eo praesente conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam [domum] dimittit.

41. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consili caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae; at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt. Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecepit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam ut eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

42. Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque

corrupt form 'accerso' came into use in later times.

innoxios] 'Men who were blameless,' who had no part in the conspiracy.—'pollicitos operam:' the Galli promised to help the conspirators. They were to rise at home and send cavalry over the Alps into Italy (Cic. in Cat. iii. 2. 4).—'[domum] dimittit:' Cort omits 'domum.'

41. *in incerto habuere, quidnam* They were unresolved what to do. The 'quidnam . . . caperent' is that which 'in incerto habuere.' See Jug. c. 46, "in incerto haberetur."

studium belli] For they were a warlike people (c. 40).

fortuna] Rome had a Fortuna, which prevailed now. If we seek the exact idea of Sallust, we are perhaps looking for what he had not himself. It was a fashion to speak of Fortuna and of the Fortuna of Rome as a person. She had many temples at Rome under various names, Fortis, Muliebris, and so forth. See c. 8. Cicero (in Cat. i. 6) says, "scelere ac furori tuo . . . fortunam populi Romani obstitisse."

Q. Fabio Sangae] He was of the Fabia gens, to which gens belonged the conqueror of the Allobroges, Q. Fabius Maximus. It was the fashion now for dependent states to have their patrons among the great Romans, and we may conjecture that this patronage would cost the dependent people something. Cicero (de Off. i. 11) says, "tantopere apud nostros justitia culta est ut ii qui nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent eorum patroni essent more majorum." Appian (B. C. ii. 4) says that Sanga told Cicero what he heard from the Allobroges. Jacobs observes that it is not necessarily a contradiction to Sallust when Cicero (De Domo, c. 52) says that the 'consul designatus' Murena came to him with the Allobroges and told him of the plot. That may be so; but the oration De Domo is not Cicero's work. It is spurious.

consilio cognito] Cort proposes to omit 'consilio.' Allen proposes to omit both 'consilio' and 'cognito.' The word 'consilio' is supposed not to be appropriate. We must, I think, either keep both words or omit both.

42. *Gallia—ulteriore*] So Caesar

ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant; nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senati consulto caussa cognita in vincula conjecerat; item in citeriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis ut videbantur magnis copiis, con-

sometimes names Gallia Transalpina (B. G. i. 7. 10). There was a stir, as Sallust tells us, from one end of Italy to the other.

ante—dimiserat] See c. 27. Cort has 'antea.'—'cuncta simul agebant:' '[cuncta simul] agere,' Cort. —'portationibus:' he uses the plural as the Romans do when they speak of a thing being done in several places at once, or when they speak of the parts of a whole. So they said 'fumi incendiorum' (Caesar, B. G. v. 48), and 'silvae' as the parts of a 'silva.' See c. 30, 'arma portari.'

Q. Metellus Celer] See c. 30. Cicero says, "Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi" (in Cat. ii. 12). As to the 'senati consultum' see c. 36.—'caussa cognita:' 'after hearing and inquiring.' 'Caussam cognoscere' is a common expression, 'to hear and determine.'

citeriore] The MSS. have 'citeriore.' Cort changed 'citeriore' into 'ulteriore,' and Kritz and others have followed him. Cicero says that C. Murena, the brother of L. Murena, consul designatus, was in Gallia Ulterior (pro Murena, c. 41). L. Murena was governor of Gallia Ulterior in B.C. 64, and his brother Caius had been left in care of the Provincia.

But I am not sure that the text of Sallust is wrong. Cicero, as already observed, says that he sent Q. Metellus into the Ager Gallicus and Picenum. The Ager Gallicus was that part of Umbria which was on the coast of the Hadriatic, between Gallia Citerior and Picenum. Cicero therefore does not say that Q. Metellus was in Gallia Citerior at this time. The Gallicus Ager was certainly not in Gallia Citerior (Cic. pro Sestio, c. 4). Cicero, who had given up his province of Macedonia to C. Antonius, and had taken Gallia Citerior instead, gave up that also in his consulship to Q. Metellus Celer before the end of B.C. 63, and Dion Cassius (37, c. 33) says that he sent Metellus there. It is certain that Q. Metellus Celer was proconsul of Gallia Citerior in B.C. 62, and C. Murena, according to Cicero, was in Gallia Transalpina in B.C. 63. Sallust may then be mistaken in this passage, but if he wrote 'citeriore,' and wrote it wrong, that is no reason for altering the text.

43. *videbantur*] Some editions have 'videbatur;' but the Romans in such a case would rather say 'ut (copiae) videbantur.'—'constituerant:' so in Jug. 101, "Bocchus cum peditibus . . . invadunt."—'L. Bestia:' see c. 17. He was a Tr. pl., and he would enter on his office on the 10th of December. Jacobs remarks that it must have been known before the 10th of December that Catilina had joined Manlius (see c. 36), and therefore there would be no reason for Bestia's waiting for the news of Catilina's arrival at Faesulae. He would

stituerant, uti, quum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissumi invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo proxuma nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent; simul caede et incendio perculsis omnibus ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum; illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse, seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus [erat], maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio,

only need to wait till the 10th of December, when he could call the people to a meeting. Jacobs adds, that Catilina's approach to the city with a large force (c. 32. 44) was to be the signal for the rising in Rome, and Cicero (in Cat. iii. 4) says the same.—'contione:' Cort and Kritz have the false form 'concione.' 'Contio' is a short form of 'conventio,' and 'contio' is a common MSS. reading, but most of the diligent old editors have suppressed it.—'actionibus:' 'about Cicero's public measures.' This is the usual expression. What a man has done in his office is called his 'acta,' when his term of office is over. The conspirators finally deferred their incendiary plan to the Saturnalia, the 19th of December, of which Sallust says nothing. Cort reads 'uti, Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum venisset, L. Bestia,' and he argues that Catilina had no army (c. 32).—'cetera—conjurationis:' 'the rest of the conspirators.'

ea divisa] This refers to 'suum quisque exsequeretur,' or 'exsequerentur,' as Cort has it.—'quo tumultu:' 'during the confusion arising from this conflagration.' There would have been confusion enough, if the city had been fired in twelve parts. Appian (B. C. ii. 3) has the 'twelve parts,' and he may have used Sallust, but he had other authorities also.

facto—consulto] See c. 1.

manu promptus] 'A man of action.' Cort omits '[erat]' after 'promptus.'

44. *conveniunt*] 'Have a meeting with the other members of the con-

item Cassio postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges prius quam domum pergerent cum Catilina data atque accepta fide societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio literas ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est. "Quis sim ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres quid tuae rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: "Quum ab senatu hostis indicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse quae jusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

45. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte

spiracy.'—'jusjurandum:' it was something in writing, which he calls 'jusjurandum,' because it would be expressed in the same terms as if it were an oral oath. It was 'signatum,' sealed with the men's sealring, written in their own hand, but not signed with their names. (Cic. in Cat. iii. 5.)

nihil suspicantes] These men were too great fools to succeed. A conspirator should put nothing in writing. Machiavelli, the great master of all practical policy, says of a conspirator, "every man should guard against writing as he would against a rock, since there is nothing which will more readily convict you than your own handwriting" (Discorsi, iii. cap. 6).—'eo:' into Gallia Transalpina.

Crotoniensem] Of Croton, now Cotrone, an Achaean colony in the Bruttii, on the bay of Tarentum. It was made a Roman colonia in B.C. 194.

Quis sim] 'Who I am.' 'Qui sim' would mean, as Kritz observes, 'what kind of a man I am.' Sallust professes to give a copy of this letter, and Cicero also (in Cat. iii. 5). The substance of the two letters is the same, but the words are not. Cicero had seen the original. We do not know if Sallust had seen it. As Cicero's oration was published long before Sallust wrote this history, Sallust might have taken the letter from this oration, if he had chosen.

mandata verbis] 'Verbal instructions.'—'servitia:' 'the slaves,' the assistance of the slaves. Marius towards the close of his life had roused the slaves to join him.

45. *constituta nocte*] The night was the 2nd of December. Some modern writers say that it was the 3rd.

L. Valerio Flacco] Cicero afterwards defended Flaccus on his trial for maladministration of his province of Asia (B.C. 62). Pomptinus (B.C. 61) was propraetor of the Provincia Narbonensis, and checked the insurrection of the Allobroges.—'ponte Mulvio:' now called Ponte Molle, a

Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit cujus gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant permittit. Illi homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli [cito] cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt; Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere; nam laetabatur [intellegens] conjuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam [esse]; porro autem anxius erat, [dubitans] in maxumo scelere

bridge over the Tiber, about three miles from Rome, on the Via Flaminia.

homines militares] 'They were men experienced in military matters,' which is said to show that they knew how to manage the business. See c. 59. Cicero says that they secured both ends of the bridge, so that they put the Allobroges and those with them between two bodies of men: "ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset" (Cic. in Cat. iii. 2).—'pontem obsidunt:' 'they occupy the bridge,' or perhaps the approach to it. 'Obsidunt' is the third conjugation. The form 'obsīdĕre' occurs in Virgil, Aen. vii. 333.

id loci] Cicero often writes 'id juris,' 'id aetatis,' and the like. 'Id loci' may be translated 'to such a place.'—'[cito] cognito:' Kritz says 'the matter in hand being soon known through the praetors ('per praetores');' and he quotes Cicero (in Cat. iii. 2), "Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, quum jam pontem [Mulvium] magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res erat praetoribus nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris." Cicero here says that nobody knew what was the object of this ambuscade except the praetors, but he did not tell the popular assembly all the truth. He did not tell them of his dealings with the Allobroges. The Galli, following the consul's instructions, had asked for letters from the conspirators, and had got them. If Sallust's narrative is true, they knew they were going to be stopped. There is no meaning then in 'cito,' and this word is omitted in two MSS. Putschius erased 'cito,' and Allen also, who says it is nothing else than an abbreviation of 'cognito.'—'sese—dedit:' the present of 'dedo,' as Kritz and Jacobs observe.

46. [*intellegens*]] This word is in all the MSS. and all the editions, old and others (Cort.) Cort has omitted it, and I do not believe that Sallust wrote it. The same remark applies to '[dubitans].'

porro autem] 'Porro' is 'for-

tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque Caeparium quendam Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt; Caeparius paulo ante domo egressus cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens [in senatum] perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum literis quas a legatis acceperat eodem afferre jubet.

47. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de literis, post-

ward.' 'Autem' connects the two clauses. Cicero rejoiced, but 'more than that,' he was troubled too. He saw that he would have to bear the weight of the punishment of the conspirators, 'and that if they were unpunished, it would be the ruin of the state.' 'Perdundae rei publicae' is the genitive. See c. 6, "conservandae libertatis . . . fuerat." Cort writes 'perdundae reipublicae credebat.' Allen has 'reipublicae perdundae fore,' omitting 'credebat.'

Caeparium] He was of Anxur or Tarracina, a town south of Rome on the Via Appia. His mission was to stir up the shepherds in Apulia, a numerous body of men, who drove the sheep up to the hills in summer, and down to the plains in the winter. Cicero (in Cat. iii. 6) says, "in M. Caeparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum." There is some information on the Apulian sheep runs in Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. i. s. 17, 'Foggia—Of the Toll on Sheep.'

[*in senatum*]] Cort omits 'in senatum' as quite unnecessary, because 'in aedem Concordiae' comes in the next clause, and 'in senatum' is more than unnecessary. Cort has a good remark on 'perducere.' He says that it is a 'verbum termini'—the reader may guess his meaning—or a verb which marks that a person is led to a certain place, and hence it is often used absolutely. He quotes several examples. There is a better example than any which he has quoted, and it is in Caesar (B. G. v. 23), "prima luce terram attigit omnesque incolumes naves perducit."

The Senate met in the temple of Concordia, which was founded by M. Furius Camillus. It was between the Forum and the Capitolium, close to the Capitolinus.

scrinium] 'Loculi,' things to carry letters in, such as 'tabellarii' (letter-carriers) used. There was also 'capsa,' which is the same thing, as it appears. The 'scrinium' is represented as of a cylindrical form with a lid.

47. *Volturcius*] Cicero (in Cat. iii. 4) describes this examination, "Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis."—'fide publica:' 'on a promise of pardon.' Cicero says "fidem publicam jussu senatus dedi;" and Plutarch (Cic. c. 19), *τῷ Κροτωνιάτῃ ψηφισαμένης ἄδειαν ἐπὶ τῇ μηνύσει τῆς βουλῆς*.—'se—quam legatos:' Kritz explains it thus,—

remo quid aut qua de caussa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia uti gesta erant aperit, docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium ascitum, nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter literas sermonibus quos ille habere solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse cui fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis literis, quum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis

'nihil amplius se scire praeter ea quae ad legatos pertinerent.' Jacobs says that 'legatos' is the 'subjects-accusativ' to 'scire,' parallel with 'se.'

praeter literas] Kritz correctly observes that 'praeter' signifies either exclusion or addition, and here means the same as 'non solum . . . sed etiam.' 'They convict Lentulus not only by his letters, but by his talk.'—'libris Sibyllinis:' the books which one of the Tarquinii bought from the Sibylla. They contained the destiny of Rome. These books were kept under the care of certain official persons, and were consulted on great occasions. They were burnt with the Capitol in B.C. 83, but they were restored in some way. They were too good a thing to be lost. Cicero (in Cat. iii. 4), "Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis se esse tertium illum Cornelium ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperii pervenire esset necesse." Gellius (i. 19) has the story of these books.—'Cinna:' L. Cornelius Cinna had been consul four years in succession (B.C. 87—84). In his fourth consulship he was killed by his own soldiers (Liv. Epit. 83). In B.C. 82 L. Cornelius Sulla was made dictator. Lentulus was also a Cornelius.

incenso Capitolio] The Capitol, as already observed, had been burnt in B.C. 83 (see Tacit. Hist. iii. 72), but it was now rebuilt.

signa sua cognovissent] Cicero did not open the letters until he was in the Senate (in Cat. iii. 3). Each man was asked if he admitted his seal ('signum'): "Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus." He uses 'cognoscere' as Sallust does. 'Agnoscere' is the usual word in such a case as this. Statilius, says Cicero, "cognovit et signum et manum suam:" he also acknowledges his handwriting ('manum suam'). The 'signum' or seal of Lentulus, says Cicero, was the representation ('imago') of his grandfather.

abdicato magistratu] Lentulus was a praetor (c. 46). The Roman expression is 'abdicare se magistratu,' 'to detach himself from the office,' to give it up. But the Ro-

habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius, nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat, Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

48. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad coelum tollere; velut ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant.

Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum ad-

mans also said 'magistratum abdicare.' An 'abdicatio' was voluntary, in form at least, and a 'magistratus' could not be punished while he held his office. Cicero tells this part of the story (in Cat. iii. 6). Appian says that the Senate deprived Lentulus of his office (B. C. ii. 5), which may be true as a fact, but Lentulus resigned first.—'in liberis custodiis:' this means that a man was given up to some individual to keep and watch, and this is called 'libera custodia.' The man was under restraint, but not in prison. Plutarch (Cicero, c. 19) says, Οὗτος (ὁ Λέντλος) μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παρεδόθησαν εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. "Atque ita censuerunt ut P. Lentulus quum se praetura abdicasset in custodiam traderetur," &c. (Cicero.)

P. Lentulo Spintheri] He was consul in B.C. 57, in which year he was active in getting Cicero restored from banishment. Q. Cornificius was a candidate for the consulship when Cicero was elected. C. Caesar is the man who afterwards tamed the Galli and did what Catilina could not do. M. Licinius Crassus was consul for the second time in B.C. 55 with Cn. Pompeius Magnus. See c. 17.

48. *Ciceronem ad coelum*] On the evening of the 3rd of December Cicero addressed the Roman people and told them what had been done on that day about the conspirators in the Senate house. This is the third oration against Catilina.

gaudium—agitabat] Cort has 'agitabant.' In c. 61 there is 'luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.'

quippe cui—erant] Kritz says that Sallust always uses 'quippe qui' with the indicative. We may translate 'quippe cui' &c., 'since all that they possessed consisted of their daily food and what they had for their personal use,' clothes and a few household articles. The burning of the city would not have pleased even these men, for they might have lost all they had and their lives too. The poor value their little as much as those who have more. The design to fire the city in many parts may have been imputed to the conspirators for the purpose of exciting the popular feeling against them.

'Usus quotidianus' seems to mean only food, for 'cultus' which comes next means clothing and household stuff. Kritz compares Jug. 73, "opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus erant sitae."

Post eum diem] On the day after that day. So the Romans wrote 'post diem tertium' &c.

ductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is quum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit: Tarquini indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius appellato Crasso per

de itinere hostium] The advance of Catilina and Manlius upon Rome.

alii—pars] So these words are sometimes used, where 'alii—alii' might be used. He adds 'plerique.' —'in tali tempore:' Kritz observes that 'in' is used with ablatives which mark time, when the writer intends not to mark the time simply, but the state of affairs at some particular time. He refers to Jug. 66, 'quippe in tali die.'

hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda] Cort, Allen, omit 'magis,' for the omission of which there is authority. See c. 8.—'ex—privatis obnoxii:' under obligations to him in private matters, matters of money. See c. 20, 'obnoxius.'

uti referatur] 'That the question should be put to the Senate' by the consul; and accordingly in the next sentence he says 'consulente Cicerone,' 'Cicero putting the question to the Senate.' Before any order or resolution was made on any matter, it was necessary for the consul to lay the matter formally before the Senate; which is thus expressed, 'consul de ea re ad senatum rettulit;' and 'senatus consulitur,' Jug. c. 15.

videri] This was the Roman form of expression, 'it was the opinion.' So the 'judices' said when they delivered their verdict on oath, and so the 'jurisconsulti' wrote, when they gave their opinion on a case (Cic. Acad. ii. 47). See the end of c. 51, 'placet,' and 'existumare.'—'potestatem:' that is 'indicandi.'

machinatum] In a passive sense. The MSS. have 'indicium illud' and 'illud indicium.' Cort omits 'indicium,' and explains 'illud' to refer to what follows, so that the meaning will be 'that the device of P. Autronius was this, that by getting Crassus named ('appellato

societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret; alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio rem publicam conturbaret; ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

49. Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut per alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant, Piso oppugnatus in judicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum, Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio

Crasso') he might' &c. In 'appellato Crasso' the ablative is put emphatically and the pronoun 'illius' comes after; which is a common form.—'immissum:' 'suborned' ('angestiftet,' Kritz). — 'praedicantem:' 'openly declaring.' Kritz compares Jug. 14. Crassus and Cicero did not like one another, but there is no ground to believe that Cicero got up this charge against Crassus, for it was plainly against his interest to involve such a man as Crassus in the charge of conspiracy, when nothing had appeared against him from the other witnesses, and when he had accepted the charge of looking after Gabinius.

49. *Q. Catulus*] He was a mean scoundrel if Sallust's story is true. C. Calpurnius Piso was consul in B.C. 67, and in B.C. 66 he was governor of the Provincia or Gallia Narbonensis. It is hardly credible that these men should have offered Cicero money or money's worth ('pretio') to do such a dirty thing.

uterque—exercebant] Jacobs says that this is the only example in which Sallust uses 'uterque' with a plural verb.—'pecuniarum:' Piso was prosecuted for 'repetundae' on the charge of the Provinciales, and Caesar on this occasion attacked him for some illegal conduct towards a native of Italy north of the Po. *Caesar, it is said*, was 'patronus' of the Transpadani (Cic. ad Fam. xvi. 12), but I do not know how he came to be 'patronus' of the Transpadani at this period. Every dependent state had its patron in the Senate who looked after the interests of the state at Rome. It was in effect a kind of representation which would be for the advantage of the dependent state, and for the advantage of the 'patronus' too, as we may assume (c. 41).

Sallust does not say who prosecuted Piso, but Caesar may have prosecuted, at least he must have been a 'subscriptor,' for so a man was named who undertook to aid the principal prosecutor.

pontificatus] Caesar was now in his thirty-seventh year. Catulus was about twenty years older and no more, which Sallust calls 'extrema aetate,' an expression which may mean that the time for active life was passed, or that Sallust himself was old in good time.

The old practice at Rome, it is said, was for the college of Pontifices to choose the Pontifex Maximus who was at the head of religion. So the college of Cardinals at Rome now elect their Pontifex Maximus, and out of their own body. But all this matter about the election to the Sacerdotia is obscure. The tribune Cn. Domitius carried a Lex in B.C. 104, which gave to seventeen of the

incensus, quod extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adulescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate,

tribes the election to the Sacerdotia, but the 'collegium' retained the 'cooptatio' or formal election. I suppose the meaning of the Lex was that the seventeen tribes should choose a man, and that the 'collegium' might refuse him, if they dared (Cicero, de Lege Agraria, ii. 7). Sulla repealed this Lex, and the colleges then chose their own members. But in B.C. 63, T. Labienus, a tribune, and afterwards one of Caesar's best generals in his Gallic campaigns, carried a Lex for the restoration of the Lex Domitia, and as Q. Metellus Pius, consul B.C. 80, the Pontifex Maximus, was dead, Caesar, who was already a Pontifex, hoped to get the Pontificatus Maximus, an office which would place him at the head of religion, would give him an official residence in the Sacra Via, and also probably some large income. It is said that Caesar was now greatly in debt; and it is also said that he bribed the people and he got the place against Catulus, and P. Servilius Isauricus, under whom in Asia Caesar had served his first campaign. Sallust places Caesar's election before the discussion about the punishment of the conspirators, but he does not fix the year. Plutarch also (Caesar, c. 7) places it before this discussion, but he is not clear. Velleius (ii. 43) only says in a loose way that Caesar was elected Pontifex Maximus before he was Praetor. Suetonius (Caesar, c. 15) says that he was elected Pontifex Maximus before he was elected Praetor. He was elected Praetor in B.C. 63, and was Praetor designatus when he spoke on the occasion of the punishment of the conspirators.

Dion Cassius (37, c. 37) places Caesar's election to the pontificate before he was Praetor, and after he had spoken on the affair of the conspirators, and he says that Caesar expected the votes for his pontificate because he had opposed the punishment of Lentulus. He must therefore mean that Caesar was elected Pontifex Maximus between the 5th of December and the end of December. But Dion is mistaken, and Sallust is right. Caesar was elected Pontifex Maximus on the 6th of March, B.C. 63 (Ovid, Fasti iii. 415),

"Sextus ubi Oceano clivosum scandit Olympo
Phoebus . . .
Caesaris innumeris quem maluit ille mereri,
Accessit titulis pontificalis Honor."

A distinguished successor of Caesar, the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, was elected Pontifex Maximus (Leo X.) a few months after he attained his thirty-seventh year. Caesar was thirty-seven in July, B.C. 63.

Caesar before the end of B.C. 63 was head of the religion of Rome, and Praetor designatus. His prospects were so good that we cannot suppose so clever an intriguer would be fool enough to be a party to Catilina's present designs; and as to any previous connexion of Caesar and Catilina we have no evidence at all.

privatim—liberalitate] By his private liberality, in his private capacity ('privatim'); and in his public capacity ('publice') through his splendid exhibitions ('munera') he was in debt ('debebat'). Caesar spent large sums on the public shows in his aedileship (B.C. 65), and in his canvass for the pontificate. He bought his way to power. He bought preferment both civil and ecclesiastical. His ecclesiastical office was a benefice for life. At Rome a man might be Pontifex

publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant usque adeo ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui praesidii caussa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio comprobato eorum indicio praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti

Maximus and consul too, as Caesar was. This Pontifex Maximus afterwards conquered Gallia and twice paid an armed visit to Britain. None of his successors have been so conspicuous as he was both in peace and in the field; but some of them, as Julius II., have had a taste for the sword, and others for learning. Caesar's debts are said to have been enormous at this time; but he afterwards got, in Spain and France, the means of paying them.—'victus discesserat:' came off with a defeat. See c. 39, 'si . . . superior . . . discessisset.'

ementiundo, quae—dicerent] 'Falsely stating what they said that they had heard.' In such a form as this the subjunctive is used ('dicerent'). If he had said 'dicebant,' there would be a direct affirmation, which is not intended.—'conflaverant:' see c. 24. —'animi mobilitate:' their hasty, excitable temper. Their passions made them think that they believed what they had no evidence of. Cort has the reading 'nobilitate,' which he takes to be equivalent to 'ferocia.' Caesar (B. G. ii. 1) has 'mobilitate et levitate animi,' where he *is speaking* of the Galli.—'egredienti ex senatu:' after the sitting of the 5th of December, which Sallust has not yet spoken of. Cort proposes 'egrediente ex senatu Caesare.' Allen proposes to erase 'Caesari,' and to keep 'egredienti.'

50. *Dum haec*] He returns to his story in c. 48.—'praemia decernuntur:' this was done on the 4th of December. Cicero says that Volturcius and the Allobroges got 'praemia . . . amplissima,' but he does not say what they were (in Cat. iv. 3). The nation of the Allobroges, who got none of the presents, was not satisfied, and they rebelled (c. 45). —'liberti:' the freedmen of Lentulus. If he had said 'libertini,' that would mean men of the class of 'liberti,' any body's 'liberti.'—'partim:' he has said that the 'liberti' and a few of Lentulus' clients were stirring up the artizans and slaves; and he adds 'partim,' (which is the nominative,) 'part of them were searching for leaders of the mob.' Kritz remarks that 'partim' is used only once in a sentence which has two members, when the 'partim' in the second member signifies that the number which it denotes is the smaller part.

erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quod de ea re praesidiis additis refe-

convocato senatu refert] On the nones or the 5th of December in the temple of Concordia. On this day Cicero made his fourth oration against Catilina; but the speech was delivered after Caesar and Cato had spoken.

Kritz thinks that Sallust has not accurately stated the facts about this meeting of the Senate, because Appian's story (B. C. ii. 5) is not the same. Appian says that while the Senate was deliberating, there was a tumult outside, and that the slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, taking with them many artizans, went round by back ways to the houses of the praetors for the purpose of rescuing the men; and that Cicero hearing of this, ran out of the Senate house, and setting guards at proper places, came back and hurried the decision about the conspirators.

frequens senatus] 'A full Senate.' See c. 14.—'contra—fecisse:' a usual formula, by which the Senate declared that a thing was dangerous to the state: "caedem in qua P. Clodius occisus est senatum judicasse contra rem publicam esse factam" (Cicero, pro Milone, c. 5). As Cicero truly says, all violent acts between citizens in a free state are 'contra rem publicam.'

D. Junius Silanus] One of the consuls who had been elected for the next year. He was the husband of Servilia, whose first husband was M. Junius Brutus, the father of M. Junius Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins. The assassin was accordingly Silanus' step-son. Servilia was the daughter of Q. Servilius Caepio, by his wife Livia, and Livia's first husband was M. Cato, the father of M. Cato Uticensis, who was accordingly Servilia's half-brother. It was usual for the 'consules designati' to be first called on to give their opinion. See Tacit. Ann. iii. 22.

pedibus—iturum] He changed his mind after hearing Caius Caesar's speech, and said that he would pass over ('pedibus iturum') to Ti. Nero's proposal. There has been much said about the expression 'pedibus ire' and 'pedarii senatores,' and on the passage in Livy (27, c. 34), "sed tum quoque aut verbo adsentiebatur aut pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec cognati hominis eum causa M. Livii Macati, quum fama ejus ageretur, stantem coegit in senatu sententiam dicere." For the present purpose the simplest explanation, and a sufficient explanation, is this, 'that he said he would vote

rundum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

51. "Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, quae reges atque populi ira aut misericordia impulsi male consuluerint; sed ea malo dicere quae majores nostri contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opi-

with Tib. Nero in the division ('discessio'),' (c. 55).

Ti. Claudius Nero was the father of Ti. Claudius Nero, the first husband of Livia; and Livia was the mother of Ti. Claudius Nero, afterwards the Emperor Tiberius. Tiberius Nero's proposal was to take measures for further security ('praesidiis additis'), and then to discuss the matter again; or, as Appian (B. C. ii. 5) has it, 'to keep the men confined until they should have defeated Catilina and be fully acquainted with the facts.' Cicero in his speech on this occasion (in Cat. iv. 7) says, "jaciuntur enim voces quae perveniunt ad aures meas eorum qui vereri videntur ut habeam satis praesidii ad ea quae vos statueritis hodierno die transigunda;" but Cicero says nothing in this oration about Ti. Nero's proposal. Cicero spoke after Silanus and Caesar, for he says (c. 4), "Video adhuc duas esse sententias, unam D. Silani, qui censet eos qui haec delere conati sunt morte esse mulctandos, alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur."

51. *rebus dubiis*] 'On difficult matters.' Where there is doubt, there is difficulty.

lubidini simul et usui] 'No man ever followed his passion and his interest (or true interest) at the same time.' A wise remark. He who is bent on gratifying a passion, must not expect at the same time to serve his other interests, or, as Thucydides has it (vi. 78), 'it is not possible for the same man in like manner at the same time to gratify his passion and direct his fortune.' Sallust may have got this from Thucydides.

intenderis] 'When you direct steadily your understanding.' 'Lubido' is 'desire,' impulse towards a thing, without reflection.

quae reges—consuluerint] 'The resolutions which they have made.'

Rhodiorum civitas] The Rhodii had helped the Romans in the war against King Antiochus (B.C. 191, 190), and the Romans gave them Caria and Lycia, or the coast part at least, for their services. During the last Macedonian war, the war with Perses (B.C. 171—168), the Rhodii did not help the Romans, and were even inclined to take the side of Perses, though they did not. When the war was ended, the Senate considered the case of the Rhodii, who sent ambassadors to Rome to excuse

bus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit; sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam injuriae caussa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quaerebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vostrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, iis utendum censeo quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixere, composite atque

themselves. Gellius (vii. 3) tells the story of the Rhodii. Cato the Censor made a speech (B.C. 167) in their defence, of which Gellius has preserved a part. This speech was contained in the fifth book of Cato's Origines. The Senate did not declare the Rhodii to be enemies, nor did they allow them to continue to be allies; and they ordered them to retire from Lycia and Caria (Livy 45, c. 25).

Carthaginienses] The Romans certainly did not treat the Carthaginians very mildly. After the close of the first Punic War, Carthage had a struggle for more than three years against her revolted mercenaries, and when she was in this feeble state the Romans seized Sardinia, and made the Carthaginians pay 1200 talents besides (Polyb. i. 88).—'per occasionem:' 'when there was an opportunity.' Cort refers to Livy i. 53, and other like usages of 'per occasionem.' — 'in illos:' 'in illis,' Cort. See c. 9.

dignitas] 'What is becoming to you,' or consistent with your character. A man is said 'irae consulere' when he does what his desire of vengeance prompts (see Jug. c. 33). 'Is qui famae consulit,' does that which will maintain his good name. So Diodotus says (Thucyd. iii. 44) when he opposed the putting to death the Mitylenaeans, *ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥστε τῶν δικαίων δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν ὅπως χρησίμως ἕξουσιν.*

digna—pro factis] 'Proper or fit in respect of what they have done.' Jacobs quotes Terence, Hec. ii. 1. 12, "an quidquam pro istis factis dignum te dici potest?" The 'novum consilium' was the proposal to put the men to death without trial, which, as Caesar says, was forbidden by a Lex Sempronia (B.C. 123). "C. Gracchus legem tulit, ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro judicaretur" (Cic. pro Rabirio, c. 4).—'ingenia:' 'all that men can invent.'

composite] Marius says (Jug. 85), "Non sunt composita verba mea." Cicero joins 'composite' and 'apte dicere.' It is often difficult to find single words which are equivalent to Latin words. 'Composite' is in a studied, or regular address. It implies labour to produce an effect by order and method.—'quae—collu-

magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt; quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros, divelli liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati quae victoribus collubuissent, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem, incendia fieri, postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis! quo illa oratio pertinuit? an uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur; multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed aliis alia licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est; neque studere neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mor-

buissent:' Allen writes on the authority of one MS. 'quae collibuisset,' and supplies 'eas pati;' but that can hardly be allowed. He doubts if 'quae collibuissent' is Latin. But it seems that verbs like 'lubet' were so used. There is in Suetonius (Caesar, c. 20) "quae cuique libuissent," where 'libuisset' would not do.

quo illa &c.] 'What was the purpose of that talk? was it (an pertinuit ut) to make you furious against the conspiracy (conspirators)? If so great and so atrocious an act has not roused a man, I suppose words will do it.' 'Scilicet' is used sarcastically.

injuriae suae] 'The wrongs done to them.'—'gravius—habuere:' we get the meaning from the opposition to 'parvae videntur.' It is this: 'many have considered them greater than is just.'

vitam habent] See c. 4, "aetatem . . . habendam decrevi."

studere] 'To favour:' used absolutely. See i. 1.—'sed minume:' Jacobs compares 'sed maxume,' c. 17.—'in imperio:' 'in those who have power.'

Equidem ego] 'For my part, this is my opinion.' 'Equidem' may be an abbreviation of 'ego quidem,' or the E may be a prefix which strengthens the word, or it may be 'Et quidem.' 'Equidem' is joined with other persons besides the first, as in c. 52, "quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est," and "de poena possumus equidem dicere" a little further on in this chapter.—'omnes—esse:' 'that any torture is too little for their crimes.'—'postrema meminere:' 'men think of what is last.' Punishment comes after the crime, and if the punishment is severe, men begin to pity the criminal and to hate those who have punished.

tales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certe scio quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi; verum sententia ejus mihi non crudelis (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?), sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, quum praesertim diligentia clarissumi viri consulis tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere, id quod res

eos mores] 'Such I know to be his character and his moderation.' 'Eos' and 'eam' agree with the words which follow. Compare 'ea copia,' c. 8.—'aliena a re publica nostra:' 'foreign to the character of our state:' something like our 'unconstitutional.'

injuria] 'The criminal act' of the conspirators, to which 'poena' refers in the next sentence but one. It could not be fear that moved Silanus, he says, for the consul had secured them against fear by his vigilance. Nor could it be the offence ('injuria'), for the punishment which he proposed ('poena') was insufficient.

possumus] There is a reading 'possum.' 'As to the penalty (poena).' He has just said something about fear ('metus') as a motive, and now he speaks of the 'injuria' to which 'de poena' refers, for the notion of 'wrong' and 'punishment' are easily connected.—'id quod res habet:' 'what is the fact;' what is in the nature of the case.—'mortem—cruciatum:' 'death is a relief from sufferings, not a penalty:' it is the nature of death to end all sufferings, therefore death itself is not a punishment. This was often said. (See Cicero, pro Milone, c. 37; and in Cat. iv. 4, where Cicero makes Caesar say the same that Sallust does here.) It was the Epicurean doctrine, as it appears in Lucretius' poem, and the fashion at Rome at this time to think that there was no future life.

"Nil igitur mors est, ad nos neque pertinet hilum,
Quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habetur."—Lucret. iii. 830.

Cicero in one passage (pro Cluentio, c. 61) speaks of the punishment of the wicked after death as a silly fable. But in another passage (Phil. xiv. 12), where it suits his purpose, he speaks in another way. In his latest works (de Sen.; de Am.) he writes as if he believed in a future life.

Thucydides (iii. 45) puts an argument in the mouth of Diodotus to show that the penalty of death is not sufficient to deter men from doing any thing on which they are passionately bent. Certainly it is not sufficient to deter all men, but it is sufficient to deter some. One effect of inflicting death for certain offences is to prevent the offender from doing the same thing again; and as he has shown by his example that he is one of those whom death has not deterred from crime, he is the very person to whom the penalty is applicable, for he will do the same thing again, if he has the inclination and the opportunity.

habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? An quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia levius est, qui con-

Sed, per deos] The connexion is, 'but you have intended to punish the criminals, not to release them from their sufferings, why then have you not,' &c. (Jacobs.)—'uti—in eos animadvorteretur:' as they said 'animadvortere in aliquem,' so they used the passive impersonal form with the ablative which marks the kind of punishment: 'that they should be first whipped.'

lex Porcia] The Lex Porcia (Liv. 10. 9) declared that a Roman citizen must not be whipped or put to death. Cicero (de Re Pub. ii. 31) speaks of three Leges Porciae de Provocatione; but only in this passage, and other writers speak only of one. There was a Lex Sempronia of C. Gracchus to the effect mentioned above, p. 73. A Lex Valeria of earlier date than the Porcia gave the Provocatio or appeal to the Populus, when a Roman had been sentenced to be whipped or put to death.

At aliae leges] After asking why Silanus had not added whipping, he asks, 'is it because the Lex Porcia forbids it?' 'At' brings in an objection: 'Well, but other laws also declare that citizens who are condemned must not lose their lives, but are allowed to leave Rome.' Whipping would have been illegal; but it is, says Caesar, also illegal to put men to death when they have been found guilty.

Cicero (in Cat. ii. 5) says that Caesar in his speech understands or *admits* that the Lex Sempronia applied to Roman citizens, but not to any man who is an enemy to the state; and accordingly the conclusion must be that the conspirators could not have the benefit of this Lex, whatever it was. The provisions of the Lex Sempronia, as they have just been stated, and so far as we know them, did not allow 'condemnati' to retire into exile from Rome; nor do we know any Lex which in all cases allowed 'condemnati' to avoid the legal penalty by retiring from Rome.

'Exilium' or 'exsilium,' 'a change of soil' ('vertere solum'), was a man's retirement from his own state to another. This was sometimes done in early Roman history to avoid a trial or to get out of some difficulty, and it seems that it became the practice in certain cases after trial and conviction, to allow the man to go away and become an alien from his country. As Cicero says (pro Caecina, c. 34), "exsilium enim non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii." Many MSS. have 'in exsilium permitti,' which Cort has very injudiciously put in his text. Allen writes 'in exilium mitti' on the authority of one MS.

Sin, quia] Caesar is putting Silanus in a difficulty,—'You do not propose whipping, because whipping is illegal. But to inflict death is also illegal.' Now he says, 'is it because whipping is a more severe punishment than death?' And he answers, 'Why no punishment is too

venit in minore negotio legem timere, quum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet quicquid evenerit; ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis considerate. Omnia mala exempla

much for these men.' 'Sin' takes us back again to the question, why whipping is not made part of the punishment, and Caesar says, 'if you do not propose whipping, because it is a less penalty, where is the consistency (qui convenit) in fearing the law in the smaller matter, after disregarding it (quum eam neglexeris) in the greater?' Allen observes that he does not see how 'quia levius,' the fact of preliminary whipping being a less punishment, could be a reason why Silanus should not propose it; and accordingly Allen would omit 'quia,' and read 'sin levius.' But we must fix our attention on the illegality of whipping, which ceremony Silanus had dispensed with. As Silanus was going to do an illegal act by putting men to death, Caesar asks him why he could not do another illegal act, and whip them first. If Silanus should say, because whipping is worse than death, that is no answer, says Caesar, for the men deserve any punishment, and as you are going to do an illegal act, you should give them what you consider to be the worst punishment. But if you do not propose whipping because it is a less punishment than death, you fall into the inconsistency of observing the law in the less matter, and breaking it in the greater. The word 'timere' causes the difficulty; but it must be observed that Caesar is putting his own construction on what Silanus proposed, and that Silanus might easily answer by saying that he thought whipping was no punishment at all, and therefore he did not propose it; or he might say that if reasons of state made it necessary to put the men out of the way, there were not the same reasons for flogging them.

At enim quis] This is a supposed objection of Silanus, or any body, which Caesar answers in the next sentence. 'But you will say, who will find fault,' &c.—'parricidas:' see c. 14.

Tempus, dies] Caesar answers, 'Why time, every day as it passes, fortune, whose pleasure rules nations,' all will cry out against the establishment of such a precedent. 'Tempus diesque' are sometimes thus used. 'Tempus' is time generally; and 'dies' is the daily progress of time.

accidet] 'accidit,' Cort.

ceterum] An accusative used as an adverb. He says that the conspirators will deserve whatever befalls them. But that is not all the question, 'as to the rest (ceterum),' he says, 'consider what you are establishing against others,' the precedent of putting men to death illegally, though they deserve death.

Omnia mala] 'All bad precedents have had their origin in good examples,' he says. Whether he says truly, I do not know, but there is, as we say, a good deal of truth in it. The word 'sed' denotes opposition, and though we may explain it by supplying something, it seems ill used here. By laying an emphasis on 'bonis' we get the speaker's meaning. 'All precedents which are bad have had their origin in precedents which were good, but when power has come to those who do not understand (ignaros) the good precedents, or who are not so good as those who made the good precedent, (then) that new precedent is trans-

ex bonis orta sunt. Sed ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros imposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla, quum Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam ut is in

ferred (in its application) from those who were deserving (of punishment) and fit persons (for punishment) to those who are not deserving and not fit.'

triginta viros] The thirty tyrants, as they are sometimes called, who were established in Athens by the popular vote, though at the dictation of the Spartan Lysander, after the defeat of the Athenians ('devictis Atheniensibus') and the end of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 404.

indemnatum] The Thirty began by punishing without trial ('indemnatum') all whom every body knew to be bad fellows (Xenophon, Hellen. ii. 3, 12). This was a good beginning in fact, but bad in form, for it took away even an innocent man's protection.—'ea — laetari:' 'the people were pleased with it.' Cort quotes Cicero (ad Fam. vii. 1), "utrumque laetor."

lubidinose] 'At their pleasure.' 'Juxta,' 'alike,' see c. 2.

Damasippum] L. Junius Damasippus, Praetor urbanus B.C. 82, was a partizan of the younger Marius. He put to death among other partizans of Sulla, the illustrious Q. Mucius Scaevola, who was murdered before Vesta's altar (Vell. ii. 26). Damasippus fell in battle near Rome. Sallust has said, 'Damasippum et alios . . . jugulari jussit;' but his words might mislead us.—'malo:' it is the ablative. They had become rich and powerful ('creverant') by means injurious to the state. Cort says that 'malo' may be either the dative or the ablative, and so it may. But in this form it is the ablative, as in the example from Livy (34, c. 17) which Cort quotes, "Si quidem id majore Hispanorum malo quam exercitus Romani labore semper adhuc factum est." Caesar says (B. G. i. 10), "intelligebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum," 'attended with great danger to the province.' So Caesar uses 'commodo rei publicae.' In these cases the ablative means that the thing which is done or happens is accompanied by some result.

vas aut vestimentum] He has spoken of house in the city ('domus'), and house in the country ('villa'), as objects of greedy men's

proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur, neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi; ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere, neque illis superbia obstabat quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt; postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur; imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit, et multitudine

desires. He adds 'vas aut vestimentum,' which will include all that is in a house for use and dress; but 'vas' refers more particularly to plate and other valuables in gold, bronze, and the like; and 'vestimenta' to hangings, coverlids, and so forth. Sulla having made a beginning, was compelled to go on in order to satisfy his greedy partizans. A usurper and a tyrant has many men to satisfy.

trahebantur] He uses it absolutely, and leaves the reader to supply what he means, 'in supplicium.' "Trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei" (Cic. ad Fam. vii. 32).

in manu sit] 'in manus,' Cort, who quotes (Jug. 112), "quum talem virum in potestatem habuisset." So Cicero uses 'esse in potestatem,' Verr. ii. 2, c. 27; ii. 5, c. 38.—'per senati decretum:' 'under the authority of a decretum of the Senate.' This is one of the uses of 'per,' as 'per me licet,' 'per leges licet,' where the permission or power given is from one who might have hindered. See Jug. c. 64, "per negotia," &c.

ab Samnitibus] If Caesar said this, we must suppose that it was true. The Romans learned something from every nation that they came near. As to the Tusci or Etrurians, it was the opinion of some Romans (Liv. i. c. 8) that Rome learned from them some of the ceremonial of their religion, and borrowed from them the 'toga praetexta,' the 'sella curulis,' and other things (Florus i. 5).—'bonis:' 'what was good:' it is neuter.

Graeciae morem] This is not easy to understand. He says that the Romans imitated the Greeks when they flogged men and put them to death. But, as Jacobs remarks, flogging was an old Roman fashion. Caesar is alluding to some early time, for he says 'postquam res publica adolevit.'

civium factiones valuere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est. Ego hanc caussam, patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minume; sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos

circumveniri] 'To be defrauded, cheated.' So Cicero uses 'circumvenire.' Cort has 'circumvenire' here, and of course he supplies a nominative such as 'quidam ex illis factionibus coepere.'

quibus legibus] It is not known what 'leges' commuted capital punishment into voluntary banishment. If it is true, it seems that after the Roman state grew strong, and after the institution of the tribunitian authority, there was an opinion against the punishment of death, and the Romans introduced in place of it, not transportation, but something which came near it. A man had the choice of suffering death or leaving Rome and its territory for ever. Sallust says 'leges . . . quibus legibus,' an emphatic form of expression, which Caesar uses very often in his own writings, as Jacobs remarks (B. G. i. 16. 49), and Cicero.

hanc caussam] 'I think that this reason for not taking any new resolution is particularly strong:' he means that what he has said in the previous sentence of the abolition of the punishment of death by their ancestors; and he adds in confirmation, that 'in fact (profecto) merit and wisdom were greater in those who out of small means made so great an empire, than in us who hardly keep what they nobly got.' It is an argument founded on the wisdom of their ancestors: they should not undo what their ancestors had done, and *they* would undo it, if they punished these men with death.

augeri] 'augere,' Allen on the authority of two MSS. and the ed. Roman. 1470. In such matters it is difficult to decide. But it is no objection to 'augere' that the other member of the sentence has 'dimitti,' as Allen correctly remarks.

publicandas — pecunias] 'That their property should be forfeited to the state,' made public after being private. 'Pecuniae' is property, the same as 'bona,' the common Roman term for property (see Cicero, in Cat. iv. 5). "Pecuniae nomine non solum numerata pecunia (coin), sed omnes res tam soli (the ground and what is fixed to it, as houses and trees), quam mobiles (moveables, as cattle, furniture), et tam corpora (corporeal, material things) quam jura (legal rights, as the right to the enjoyment of a thing for life, a right of road over another man's land) continentur" (Dig. 50. 16. 222). 'Pecunia' was every thing to which a man had a legal title.—'per municipia:' the Italian towns in Italy properly so called, which term did not at the time include Gallia Cisalpina or North Italy. 'Municipium' in Caesar's time was an Italian town, which was not a Roman or a Latin colony. Cicero (in Cat. iv. 4) says of Caesar's proposal, "municipiis dispertiri jubet — adjungit gravem poenam municipibus si quis eorum vincula ruperit." Caesar proposed perpetual imprisonment, which is inconsistent with his argument above.

per municipia, quae maxume opibus valent; neu quis de iis postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum."

52. Postquam Caesar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie assentiebantur; at M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam hujuscemodi orationem habuit: "Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere; res autem monet cavere ab illis

The men should have been allowed to go into exile; but they might have gone to Catilina, and he meets that possible case by imprisonment.

neu — referat — agat] Here we have the two forms of expression which are always used, 'ad senatum referre,' 'to propose to the Senate a matter for discussion,' and 'agere cum populo,' 'to propose a measure to the people.'

existumare] This word like 'videri' (c. 48) means more when it is joined with 'Senatum' than it expresses alone. Caelius says to Cicero (ad Fam. viii. 16), 'Senatum existimare . . . Qui impedierit prohibuerit, eum senatum existimare contra rem publicam fecisse." It was part of Caesar's motion that the Senate should declare any man to be an enemy to the state, &c. 'Contra rem publicam fecisse' (Cic. Phil. viii. last chap.) was a common formula.

52. *ceteri—alii*] 'The rest gave their assent in a few words, some to one opinion and some to another.' Jacobs observes that Sallust says 'alius alii,' though there were only two measures proposed; and that he adds 'varie,' which adds nothing, but expresses the 'variety of opinion.'

During this debate Cicero spoke his fourth Catilinarian oration, after Caesar and before Cato. Cicero must have spoken before Nero (c. 50, note on Ti. Nero), for he only discusses in his fourth oration the proposals of Caesar and of Silanus; and he spoke before Cato, whose speech decided the Senate (Plutarch, Cato, c. 21). There were therefore more than two proposals.

Cato] The great grandson of M. Cato the Censor. Cato was now thirty-two years of age and Tribunus plebis designatus. His life by Plutarch is worth reading.

Longe mihi alia] We must understand the second part of the sentence as if it were 'et alia quum sententias.' 'Very different are my thoughts when I consider the circumstances and the dangers from what they are when I reflect on the opinions of some who have spoken.' Aldus Manutius compares with this beginning the beginning of Demosthenes' Third Olynthiac.

monet cavere] The common construction would be 'ut caveamus.' 'Cavere ab illis,' 'to secure ourselves against those,' is a common usage. Cort has 'in illis statuamus.'—'ista:' 'those things of yours.' He adds contemptuously 'whatever they are,' as if he did not value them; and he did not.—'aliquando:' emphatic, 'rouse yourselves at last.' See Jug. 14, "et aliquando aut . . . oriatur." Cicero (de Am. c. 26), "Quamobrem ad illa prima redeamus eaque

[magis] quam quid in illos statuamus consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores; capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed per deos immortalis! vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vostras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis; si ista, cujuscumque modi sunt, quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vostris otium praebere voltis, expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rem publicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis; libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea caussa advorsos habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica firma erat; opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed haec cujuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansue-

ipsa concludamus aliquando."—'capessite rem publicam:' the same form occurs in Jug. c. 85. 'Take in hand the affairs of the state.'

Non agitur] 'The question is not about the revenues.' The Romans also say 'tua res agitur,' 'your interests are at stake.' The French expression is like the Latin, 'il ne s'agit aujourd'hui ni d'impôts,' &c.

ordine] The Senate was called an 'ordo.' So the Romans said 'equestris ordo.'—'ea caussa:' 'for that reason.' He says 'ea gratia' Jug. 54.

Qui—fecissem] 'As I had never excused myself and my inclination for any fault, I was not ready (condonabam) to pardon the evil deeds of other men's passions.' 'Qui' with the subjunctive here expresses a ground or reason for his conclusion 'condonabam.' He who does not excuse any fault in himself, is not bound to overlook the offences of others. 'Gratiam facere' is used with a genitive of the thing excused and a dative of the person, as in Jug. 104, "(Senatus) Boccho . . . delicti gratiam facit." 'Condonare' is used with an accusative and a dative, as in Caesar (B. G. i. 20), "uti . . . suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet."

opulentia] Kritz says that it is the ablative; and of course 'res publica' must be the nominative to 'tolerabat.' Compare c. 53, 'res publica . . . sustentabat,' and see 'toleraverant,' c. 10. 24. 37.

bonisne an malis] Jacobs says that Sallust uses 'ne—an' in this alternative form, and 'an' alone, as 'nostra—an.' The form 'utrum necaretur an . . . reservaretur' occurs in Caesar (B. G. i. 53).—'haec:' all that he has mentioned.

Hic mihi quisquam] 'Does any

tudinem et misericordiam nominat. Jampridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerarii; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo, falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare quum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis,

man now (hic) talk to me of:' or any other word than 'now' will do if it expresses 'in these circumstances,' 'in this case.' Cort compares Cicero, Phil. viii. 4, "Hic mihi etiam F. Fufius.. pacis commoda commemorat."

sociorum] This means the 'provinciales,' or inhabitants of the Roman dependencies out of Italy. Before the Social War (B.C. 90), the Socii were the Italian states which were dependent on Rome. The term Socii was retained, but the meaning was changed.—'in furibus aerarii:' 'in the case of those who defraud the aerarium,' the Roman treasury.—'ne illi:' 'ne illis,' Cort.

divorso itinere—habere] These words explain 'ea . . . memorantur.' What was said and believed was 'that taking a different road from the good, the bad have (for their abode) places' &c. Sallust represents Cato as believing in the punishment of the wicked after death. Socrates (Phaedon, c. 62) describes the eternal punishment of the incorrigibly wicked, the purgatory of the curable, and the eternal happiness of the good, who are released from all mortal fetters. Plutarch, Cato (c. 68), tells us that Cato read the Phaedon twice before he killed himself at Utica (B C. 46).

videlicet] 'You may see,' 'no doubt;' said sarcastically. Compare 'sci-licet,' 'i-licet.'

popularibus] See c. 22.

vanum equidem] See c. 51, note on 'equidem.'

tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare majores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia quam illis est. Sed alia fuere quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt, domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt, dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis quid intra moenia deprensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo—deliquere ho-

Si ita res esset] 'If it had been so, we should have been in possession of a state far the fairest;' he means much fairer than their ancestors had.

nulla sunt] 'Nulla' is emphatic. We must read it 'nullasunt.'—'neque... obnoxius:' 'not under the influence of either crime or passion.' This, says Cort, is the same that Tacitus means (Ann. iii. 12) when he says 'integris animis dijudicandum.'

ubi—ubi] 'Ubi' means 'under such circumstances when you are severally thinking of yourselves, when at home you are slaves to pleasures, here ('hic,' in the Senate) slaves to money or interest.'—'vacuam:' 'unprotected,' like a thing without an owner.

Conjuravere—incendere] One of Sallust's forms of the infinitive, which may be explained as Kritz explains it, who says it means the same as 'conjuratione facta constituere.'—'nomini Romano:' 'the Roman nation,' as in Vell. ii. 27, "vir ... Romano nomini infestissimus." So the Romans said 'Socii et Latini,' or 'Socii nomenque Latinum.'—'supra caput:' Cort quotes Livy iii. 17, "Quum hostes supra caput sint." Cort has omitted 'cum exercitu,' on the authority of one MS.—'deprensis hostibus faciatis:' 'do to the enemies whom you have caught.' 'Hostibus' may be the ablative, as in "quid hoc homine facias" (Verr. ii. 2. 16). Cicero also says (pro Caecina, c. 10) "Quid huic tu homini facias?" Cort omits 'et dubitatis.'

Misereamini censeo] Said ironically. 'You must have pity on them, I suppose.'

mines adulescentuli per ambitionem—atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maxumis periculis servavere. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt; ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequicquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit, atque ille egregius adulescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit; vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit; ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiae, nisi iterum jam patriae bellum fecit. Nam

Ne ista vobis] 'Verily that clemency and compassion of yours.' Jacobs remarks that 'ne' in this sense in Sallust and other good writers is always followed by a pronoun.—'convortet:' 'will turn to your sorrow.' 'Convertere' is here used intransitively, as it is sometimes. In c. 6 there is '[se] convortit,' in which passage some editions omit 'se.'

res ipsa] 'The matter itself' is the dealing with the conspirators and the punishment of them.

Immo vero maxume] He has said ironically, 'but you do not fear it.' He corrects himself, 'Yes indeed, you do fear it very much.'

suppliciis muliebribus] 'Womanish prayers.' See c. 9, and the note.—'prospera . . . cedunt:' 'turn out well.' See c. 26.—'vigilando, agendo:' his advice is like the dramatist's (Terence, Phormio, i. 4. 26), "Fortes fortuna adjuvat." Cato, in a letter to Cicero (ad Fam. xv. 5), speaks in terms something like what Sallust here puts into his mouth.

Gallico] It was in the Latin war (B.C. 340) in his third consulship that Torquatus put his son to death. The commentators suppose that Sallust may have confounded this Latin campaign with the earlier Gallic campaign in which Manlius killed a huge Gaul and stripped him of a chain, whence he had the name of Torquatus. Dionysius (viii. 79) seems to speak of Torquatus putting his son to death in a Gallic war, but his words are vague.

Videlicet—obstat] 'I suppose the rest of their life is inconsistent with this crime,' or 'the rest of their life makes amends for this crime.' There may be various other translations. Their past life was so pure, he means to say, ironically. Allen quotes Livy (i. 26), "Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique; sed recens meritum facto obstabat."

iterum jam patriae] This is supposed to allude to the conspiracy mentioned in c. 18.

quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. Postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urguet, alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes, neque parari neque consuli quicquam occulte potest; quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: quum nefario consilio scĕleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem, incendia, aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum supplicium sumundum."

Nam quid ego de Gabinio] This is a Roman way of touching on a matter on which a man does not intend to dwell; as if he had said, 'Enough of this, for why need I speak of Gabinius,' &c.—'quicquam . . . pensi:' see c. 5.

peccato locus esset] 'If there were any room for making a mistake,' literally. He means if the circumstances were such that a mistake could be made without being fatal.

faucibus urguet] This may be compared with 'supra caput' above, but the metaphor is different. It is like 'faucibus premitur, tenetur,' 'he is held fast by the throat.' 'Catilina with his army is holding us by the throat' ('hat uns bei der Gurgel,' Kritz). Some MSS. have 'in faucibus,' but 'in' is out of place here.

Quare—censeo: quum] This is the usual formula, as Allen remarks, referring to Cicero, Phil. v. 15, "Quam ob causam . . . senatusconsultum his verbis censeo perscribendum: Quum a M. Lepido" &c. Phil. ix. 7, &c.

indicio—convicti] We must supply 'sint' with 'convicti,' 'have been convicted,' that is, 'have been proved to be guilty.' 'Confessique sint,' 'and have confessed that they have planned,' &c.—'manifestis:' this word is used with a genitive as in Jug. 35. 'Manifestos' is used alone in Cat. c. 41. The word 'confessus' is often used passively, as in Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 56), "quam manifestam, quam confessam rem." But 'confessis' has the deponent sense here, as in the title 'De Confessis' (Dig. 42. 2) in the Digest.—'more majorum:' a common expression (Jug. c. 33). Caesar punished Acco, a Gaul, 'more majorum' (B. G. vi. 44). When Nero asked what it was 'ut puniatur more majorum,' he was told that he must be stripped naked, have his head stuck in a fork ('furca'), and be whipped to death (Sueton., Nero, c. 49). Here 'more majorum' seems to mean 'summary punishment.'

Plutarch (Cato, c. 23) writes, "They say this is the only speech of Cato which is preserved, and that it was owing to Cicero the consul, who had previously instructed those clerks, who surpassed the rest in quick writing, in the use of certain signs which comprehended in their small and brief marks the force of many characters, and had placed them in different parts of the Senate house. For the Romans at this time

53. Postquam Cato assedit, consulares omnes itemque senatùs magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad coelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque magnus habetur, senati decretum fit, sicut ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse, cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse, eoque factum uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua impera-

were not used to employ nor did they possess what are called note-writers, but it was on this occasion, as they say, that they were first established in a certain form." Short-hand writers were common at Rome under the empire. They were called 'actuarii' and 'notarii.' It is not likely that short-hand was used for the first time in taking down Cato's speech. The first notice in modern times, so far as I know, of this ancient short-hand, is in a letter of P. Bembo to Pope Julius II. Bembo had got hold of an ancient MS. written in short-hand, and he recommends the pope to restore an art invented by Cicero (Roscoe, Leo X., c. 9).

53. *sicut ille censuerat*] As the Senate would not adopt all his proposal, Caesar opposed the confiscation of the conspirators' property, and Cicero yielded on this point (Plut. Cic. c. 21).

attendere] Cicero uses this word in various ways. He writes 'reliqua attendere,' 'to attend to the rest.' He also writes 'quaeso ut diligenter attendatis,' 'I ask you to attend carefully' (pro P. Quintio, c. 25). He also gives us the full expression, "sed attendite animos ad ea quae consequuntur" (in Rull. ii. 15). Here it means 'to observe,' 'to consider.'

parvis copiis] 'With small means' against rich kings.—'toleravisse:' we must supply 'populum Romanum.' See c. 37.—'Gallos:' the most warlike nation that the Romans encountered, and at one time superior to the Romans in war. Caesar (B. G. vii. 1) speaks of 'veterem belli gloriam' of the Galli.

paucorum civium] After this feeble prologue ('sed mihi' &c.) he concludes by attributing the growth of the Roman power to the merit of a few men. Every nation owes much to a few great men, but a few can do nothing if the rest are not ready to help them. Sallust might have learned better from Polybius, who attributes the growth of Rome to its political constitution and its military spirit. Machiavelli in his discourses on Livy has handled this matter well.

rursus] The thing was changed

torum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat, ac, sicut effeta parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

54. Igitur his genus, aetas, eloquentia prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar beneficiis atque munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo: Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis pernicies; illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Caesar in animum induxerat la-

('rursus'). Once a few men strengthened and supported the Roman state. When the state had grown strong, then by its own power it supported, that is, it resisted the bad effects which came from the vices and weakness of commanders and magistrates.—'sicut effeta parentum:' this seems to be corrupt. Kritz and Jacobs write 'sicut effeta parente.' They suppose that the state is compared with a woman who is no longer capable of bearing children. Cort thinks that 'effeta parentum' means the same as 'effeta parens' would mean. Allen supplies 'virtute' with 'effeta parentum.'—'multis tempestatibus:' 'for a long time' there had been no man at Rome great 'in merit,' in Roman 'virtus.' So he says.

divorsi moribus] So Cort has it correctly, 'two men opposite in character,' the direction of their character was opposite. Kritz and others have 'divorsis moribus.'—'silentio . . . quin:' 'it was not my intention to pass over them in silence without showing' ('quin . . . aperirem'). There is a negative idea contained in 'silentio,' and so it is followed by 'quin . . . aperirem.' See c. 39. 'Quin' is often so used after 'abesse;' and other words, as "expectari non oportere quin iretur" (Caesar, B. G. iii. 24).

54. *aetas*] Caesar was about five years older than Cato. Caesar was a patrician and the Porcia gens of Cato was plebeian; but Cato's family was ennobled ('nobilis') by the offices which his ancestors had held.—'aequalia:' 'aequalis' is generally used to signify 'of the same age.'—'alia alii:' he uses 'alii,' and not 'alteri,' because he had written 'alia.' 'Each had different qualities.'

nihil largiundo] Not simply 'by giving nothing at all,' but 'by not giving money for any political purpose,' as Caesar did, who bought his way to power.

facilitas] We have a difficulty in finding the corresponding word. It is opposed to 'constantia,' 'firmness,' or 'persistence in a good principle.' 'Facilitas' sometimes means 'good nature,' 'an obliging disposition.'

in animum induxerat] 'Caesar had planted or fixed in his mind industry (laborare) and vigilance.'

borare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxume severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat; esse quam videri bonus malebat; ita quo minus petebat gloriam, eo illum magis sequebatur.

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optumum factu ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quae supplicium postulabat parare jubet; ipse praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est in carcere locus, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam,

Caesar had principles and 'constantia,' but his object was different from Cato's.—'neglegere . . . denegare' do not depend on 'in animum induxerat.' They are historical infinitives.—'quod dono dignum esset:' 'if it was worth giving, worth being made a gift.'—'exercitum, novum bellum:' Sallust is writing here as if he were writing at the time of the conspiracy, when Caesar was an aspiring young man. But he actually wrote with knowledge of what he did after. A 'new war' may be interpreted in various ways. It may mean a war against enemies whom the Romans had not yet tried.

factio] 'A making' came to be used for a 'political party.' Caesar (B. G. i. 31; vi. 12) and Cicero use the word in the same way.

illum—sequebatur] Cort omits 'illum,' and perhaps rightly. Whether we have 'illum' or omit it, the meaning is 'gloria sequebatur,' as in Cat. 3, "gloria sequitur scriptorem," and Cat. c. 12.

55. *in—discessit*] The Senate divided, and the majority were for Cato's opinion; for Caesar at least dissented. A division was the formal way of ascertaining the opinion of the Senate, and determining what the Senatusconsultum or Decretum should be. The members moved off, some to one side and some to the other side of the Senate house (Dion Cassius 41, c. 2).—'optumum factu:' 'optimum factum,' Cort. See c. 32. Caesar writes 'optimum factu' according to the common texts.—'triumviros:' the 'triumviri capitales,' or 'tresviri capitales' as they were also called, had the care of the prisons and looked after the infliction of punishment. We read of some criminals in old times being pitched down the Tarpeian rock, and of other ways of execution. These men were executed in the prison, and such executions in private are occasionally mentioned in Roman writers.—'ceteris' is the dative. See c. 52.

quod Tullianum] This is a usual construction, to make the relative relate to a following noun, as in Caesar (B. G. ii. 1), "Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus." The Tullianum was so called because it is said to have been added by King Servius Tullius to an earlier construction of Ancus Marcius. But Forchhammer (quoted by

circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta, sed inculta, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex clarissuma gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum complet; deinde, uti quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones

Jacobs) affirms that the Tullianum is a part of the original construction, which served as a well, and that there is still a spring there. This place is on the Capitoline Hill to the right of the present ascent from the Forum. It is a subterraneous chamber nearly round, and in the upper part it has been restored. The upper courses of stone form the rounded top, which is above the surrounding level and has a hole in it; the hole is reached by ascending a little distance. The Tullianum, he says, is depressed twelve feet in the ground, or he may mean that the whole internal depth is twelve feet. The 'camera' or chamber of arched stone is above the Tullianum, and the walls of the upper stand partly on those of the lower building.—'ascenderis:' 'escenderis,' Cort.

vincta] Cort remarks that in most of the MSS. we may read either 'vincta' or 'juncta,' for 'vincta' is written 'uincta,' which may also mean 'juncta' ('iuncta'). He adds that the more recent MSS. which use the *v* clearly write 'vincta.'—'incultu:' 'from neglect.' There is also a reading 'inculta.'

vindices rerum capitalium] He means the executioners ('carnifices') who were in the hole waiting for Lentulus. They strangled him. Cort omits these words as a gloss. Some have objected to 'quibus praeceptum erat.'

exitium] 'An end.' 'Exitum,' which is also a MSS. reading, is the usual word.

De Cethego] The conspirators whom the Senate condemned were nine (Cic. in Cat. iii. 6); but only these five were executed. Cassius, Furius, Chilo, and Umbrenus had escaped. The execution took place on the 5th of December, B.C. 63.

56. *ex omni copia*] 'Copia' is quantity, number, indefinitely, as in c. 65. So Caesar (B. G. i. 30) writes "locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent."—'duas . . . instituit:' he determined to form two legions, like a consul who had two legions. 'Instituit' denotes that he began the execution of his plan. Caesar (B. G. iii. 9) writes "remiges ex Provincia institui . . jubet." Catilina made ten cohorts in each legion, and filled them up as far as his number would allow ('pro numero'), but at first, as Sallust says, he had only two thousand men.

numero hominum expleverat, quum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, uti quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam vorsus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

57. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque quos supra memoravi supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per mon-

numero hominum] Cort thought that these words ought to be erased. If the text is right, it means 'had filled up the legions with the proper number of men, so as to make two complete (justae) legions.'

sparos] 'Sparus' and 'sparum' is a light javelin. As Cort remarks it is very like the German 'speer,' which is our 'spear.'—'praeacutus:' 'sharpened at the end.' Caesar uses the word, and also speaks of 'praeustae sudes,' stakes hardened by charring the ends, which were used for defending the Roman camp against the barbarians (B. G. v. 40).

postquam — adventabat] 'But when Antonius with his army was approaching.' Compare c. 6, where after 'postquam . . . convenire' he writes 'postquam . . . videbatur.' Antonius is C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague.—'in Galliam vorsus:' 'vorsus' or 'versus' is also used with 'ad;' Caesar, B. G. vi. 33, "ad Oceanum versus."

cujus] This appears to be an irregular construction. If he had said 'cujus generis,' it would have been simple and easy; and this is what he means, though 'servitii' is the word which must be supplied. 'Servitium' is a name which expresses many in unity, the unity of servitude. Allen remarks, 'servitium' is an indefinite number of slaves, or slaves generally, and 'servitia' is some definite number, or it is used as equivalent to 'servi.' He refers to Tacit. Ann. xii. 17; xiv. 61. See Cat. 24, 'servitia urbana.'—'communicavisse:' this is a word which is used in matters of partnership. It means 'to make things common property.' So Catilina is said to have refused to make the cause of citizens and that of runaway slaves one cause. If Catilina refused the help of the slaves, we may conjecture that he did not think they could help him much. In c. 24 he is represented as stirring them up.

tis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans quae supra diximus Catilinam agitare. Igitur ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movet ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditus in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem, optumum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum confligere. Itaque contione advocata hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

58. "Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non

57. *agrum Pistoriensem*] He moved by forced marches ('magnis itineribus') into the territory of Pistoria (now Pistoia). Pistoria was a town W.N.W. of Faesulae, at the foot of the southern side of the Apennines, over which mountains Catilina intended to lead his men into Gallia Cisalpina and thence over the Alps into Gallia Transalpina. Cort thinks that the word 'Transalpinam' is spurious, and he omits it.

in agro Piceno] See c. 42.—'praesidebat:' 'he had the command,' and his business was to protect ('praesidere') the Ager Picenus. Livy has "Ti. Claudius . . . cum praesidio legionis unius Pisis praeerat." In the imperial period the governor of a province was named 'praeses' (Gaius, i. 6).

ex difficultate] Kritz compares the use of 'ex divitiis' (c. 12). Metellus inferred from the difficulties in which Catilina was, that he was forming the design which Sallust has just ('supra') mentioned. Accordingly Metellus advanced to the north side of the Apennines, to the part where Catilina must come down into the level country, south of Bononia (Bologna), if he crossed the mountains.

in Galliam properanti] Cort thought these words were spurious and placed them thus [ ].

Neque tamen] Though this was so, though Metellus had advanced to the pass of the Apennines, 'still (tamen) Antonius was not far off Catilina.'—'locis aequioribus' &c.: 'on more level ground moving quick (expeditus)' without incumbrance. It was not only the ground which was favourable to his pursuit, but he was unincumbered ('sine impedimentis').—'in fuga sequeretur:' 'was pursuing a flying enemy.' 'In fuga' expresses a state or condition of the enemy, as the context shows.

optumum factu] 'optimum factum,' Cort. See c. 32.—'fortunam belli:' so Caesar (B. G. i. 36) writes 'belli fortunam.'

58. *Compertum—habeo*] This use of 'habere' with a passive participle is common. We may translate, 'I hold it as a truth, as a thing well ascertained.'—'addere:' Horace (Ep.

addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet; quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequicquam hortere; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos quo pauca monerem advocavi, simul uti caussam mei consili aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit, quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant; diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet; quocunque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo uti forti atque parato animo sitis, et quum proelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dexteris vostris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt; si metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient; neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare.

ii. 2. 36) has the complete expression:

"Verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem."

timor animi] See Jug. c. 20. He opposes 'animus' to the 'aures.' 'Auribus officit,' 'stops the ears,' prevents them from hearing. Comp. Jug. c. 62, 'officerent.'

Scitis equidem] See c. 51, note on 'equidem.'

quo loco] There is also the reading 'quo in loco,' as in Caesar, B. G. ii. 26. Both forms were used. —'juxta:' see c. 2. Cort translates it, 'so gut als ich,' 'as well as I.'

unus ab urbe] 'One on the side towards Rome, the other on the side towards Gallia.' Thus the Romans write, 'erat a septentrionibus collis' (Caesar, B. G. vii. 83), 'on the north side there was a hill.'

commeatus] 'Supplies.' 'Commeatus' is probably the nominative singular, as Jacobs remarks, though the word is also used in the plural. 'Abunde' stands in the place of an adjective. See c. 21. Cort observes, "ex more Sallustii *commeatus* non tam pro secundo quam primo casu habendum est;" which is a strange remark, for it is certainly the nominative.

supervacaneum] See c. 51. It is an idle thing, a thing of no use, for them to fight for the power of a few,

Quo audacius aggredimini memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit nobis cum summa turpitudine in exsilio aetatem agere; potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis bonis alienas opes exspectare; quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si haec relinquere voltis, audacia opus est; nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, quum arma quis corpus tegitur ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in proelio iis maxumum est periculum, qui maxume timent; audacia pro muro habetur. Quum vos considero, milites, et quum facta vostra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vostra [me] hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit: nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat prohibent angustiae loci. Quodsi virtuti vostrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum commoratus signa canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit. Dein remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato

that is, they have no real motive for fighting as we have.

alienas opes] 'Wait for help from others,' pecuniary relief. See Jug. c. 14.—'haec sequi:' 'to follow what is here,' to maintain your cause by arms. Cort omits 'haec.'

haec relinquere] 'To get out of this difficulty.'—'pace . . . mutavit:' 'no one, unless he was victorious, has got peace in place of war.' Here, as Jacobs remarks, that which is given is in the accusative, and that which is got in exchange is in the ablative. Horace has the opposite form (Carm. iii. 1. 47).

ea—dementia] See c. 7, note.

pro muro habetur] Compare the use of 'haberi,' c. 1 and 2.

nam multitudo] A rapid way of answering a probable objection: 'for as to the danger from the numbers of the enemy, the narrow limits of the position prevent them from surrounding us.' See c. 52, 'nam quid,' &c. Cort omits 'loci.'

virtuti—inviderit] 'If fortune shall look unfavourably on your courage.' So Cicero says, "qui honori inviderunt meo" (de Leg. Agr. ii. 37).—'cavete . . . amittatis:' some MSS. have 'ne' before 'amittatis,' and some before 'animam.' But the usual Latin form is 'cave facias,' 'take care you do not,' and the like.

59. *signa canere*] He orders the signal ('signa') to be given, to sound ('canere'): 'canere' is intransitive. See Jug. 94, "a tergo signa canere;" but 'signa canere' also means to 'sound the signal,' Jug. 29.

remotis—equis] "Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret" (Cae-

periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab dextera rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet; ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam assistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato

sar, B. G. i. 25). See also Jug. c. 100.—'ipse pedes:' himself on foot, like the rest.

inter sinistros—aspera] 'Between the mountains on the left and the parts on the right which were rugged with rock.' 'Aspera' is the accusative plural, and the ablative 'rupe' expresses the cause of the roughness of the parts. 'Ab dextera,' 'on the right,' 'the right hand parts,' corresponds to 'sinistros.' Cort thought of proposing 'ab dextera rupem asperam,' which reading Allen has, and it has the authority of two MSS. (Harl. 6 and 16, though 6 has 'dexteram'), "itemque ed. Romana 1470 et Mediol., eamdemque ex cod. M.S. nonnullis adnotavit Gruterus" (Allen). Allen supposes that the copyists omitted the mark which signifies *m* ('rupē asperā'). It may be so. But 'rupe aspera,' 'parts rough with rock,' may be right. The battle was fought in one of the valleys of the Apennines near Pistoia.—'reliquarum signa:' the standards of the remaining twelve cohorts, for he had two legions (c. 56). But we must not infer that the cohorts had 'signa.' Each of the three 'manipuli' which composed a cohort had its 'signum;' and he means the 'signa' of the 'manipuli' of the cohortes.

Ab his centuriones omnis lectos] 'The centurions, all picked men,' that is, he took from the reserve or rear all the best centurions and 'evocati.' The 'evocati' were soldiers who had served their time, and again took service as volunteers. This is the common explanation, but the name implies that the men were summoned to serve. Caesar (B. G. iii. 20) writes "multis praeterea viris fortibus . . . nominatim evocatis."—'optumum quemque armatum:' all the bravest of those common soldiers who were armed; for all Catilina's men were not armed (c. 57).

curare] 'To command.' See Jug. 46 and 57.—'colonis:' Sulla's veterans, as Kritz says, to whom this country had been assigned (c. 28); but I suppose that he means 'farmers,' who cultivated the land and shared the produce with the owners; and Jacobs infers from its connexion with 'liberti,' that Sallust means Catilina's 'coloni' or tenants. Comp. Caesar, B. C. i. 34, "Profectum item Domitium ad occupandam Massiliam navibus actuariis septem, quas . . . a privatis coactas, servis, libertis, colonis suis compleverat."—'propter aquilam:' by the side of the 'aquila,' the standard of the legion. Cicero alludes to this 'aquila' (in Cat. i. 9), "aquilam illam argenteam . . . cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit."

pedibus aeger] C. Antonius had the gout, as it is supposed, or some-

exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti caussa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat; ipse equo circumiens unumquemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint se contra latrones inermis pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

60. Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis proelium committi posset, maxumo clamore

thing which disabled him in the feet; and M. Petreius took the command. Cicero (pro Sestio, c. 5) speaks in high terms of Petreius' services on this occasion. It is doubtful if this Petreius is the Petreius whom Caesar defeated in Spain in B.C. 49, and who was in the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46.

tumulti] This genitive is used, as 'senati' is also often the genitive of 'senatus.' A 'tumultus' is a rising in Italy or Gallia: "majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant" (Cicero, Phil. viii. 1). In a 'tumultus,' as Cicero says in the passage just quoted, 'tumultu (vacationes) non valent:' when there is a 'tumultus,' all men were required to serve: there were no exemptions.—'certare:' Cort has 'cernere,' which, as he proves, has sometimes the sense of 'certare,' 'pugnare.'

amplius annos triginta] Cort mentions a reading 'annis;' but the accusative is used in such forms as these. Comp. Caesar, B. G. ii. 16, "non amplius millia passuum decem," and v. 53, "neque longius millia passuum octo."—'praefectus:' 'praefectus auxiliarium cohortium atque sociorum' (Cort); commander of an 'ala' of cavalry. A 'legatus' is one who commands in battle under a general-in-chief, a commander of a division, and sometimes commander of a separate army, who is sent on some expedition by the general ("qui summam imperii tenet," Caesar, B. G. iii. 17).—'in exercitu:' Cort omits these words.—'ipsos:' 'personally,' as Kritz says.

60. *tuba signum dat*] This is the usual expression. It was the signal for the onset (Caesar, B. G. ii. 20, and B. C. iii. 46).

ferentariis] The light-armed troops, the 'levis armatura' of Caesar (B. G. ii. 10). They began the fight by discharging stones from slings, and shooting arrows and other light missiles.—'cum infestis:' 'cum' in such a case is more usually omitted. 'Infestis' is the participle of 'infero,' and means the 'signa' turned to the enemy (Caesar, B. G. vii. 51).—'pila omittunt:' they cast aside the 'pila,' or 'javelins,' with which the legionary soldiers began the fight by throwing them at the enemy. After throwing the 'pila,' the Romans closed with the enemy, and fought with the sword. Here they fight only with the sword, as in Caesar (B. G. i. 52), "rejectis

cum infestis signis concurrunt, pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani pristinae virtutis memores cominus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt, maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam contra ac ratus erat magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in confertissumos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

61. Sed confecto proelio, tum vero cerneres quanta audacia quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disjecerat, paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advorsis volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est paululum etiam spirans ferociamque animi quam habuerat vivus in voltu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus

pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est," and (vii. 88) "nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt."

contra ac] 'Contrary to his expectation.' Caesar (B. G. iv. 13) has 'contra atque.' The Romans also wrote 'contra quam,' as Cicero does (pro Caecina, c. 24).—'magna vi tendere:' 'resisting furiously.'—'alios alibi:' the centre part of Catilina's army was divided by the attack of the 'cohors praetoria,' and was no longer fighting in the ranks, but broken and scattered ('alios alibi'). Having broken the centre, Petreius then fell on the two flanks which were exposed by the destruction of the centre.

The 'praetoria cohors' is the body guard of the commander, a corps that was about his person.

61. *cerneres*] 'One might have seen.' Compare 'discerneres' c. 21.

Pauci—quos medios] 'A few, whom the Praetoria cohors had dislodged from their place in the centre (medios), had fallen somewhat scattered' (paullo divorsius). Their bodies lay 'divorsa,' 'in different parts' of the field, 'divorsis locis.'—'advorsis volneribus:' their 'wounds in front.' See Jug. c. 85.

ex omni copia] See c. 56.—'ingenuus:' 'free-born citizen.' "Ingenui sunt qui liberi nati sunt" (Gaius, i. § 11).

est. Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in proelio, aut graviter volneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

alii, pars] He might have said 'alii . . . alii,' or 'pars . . . pars,' as Livy does, xxiv. 21.

laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia] This position of pairs of words occurs sometimes in Sallust (c. 2 and 14). He says 'joy, sorrow, wailing and rejoicing;' 'luctus' and 'gaudia' are the outward expressions of the inward feeling. We cannot translate 'laetitia . . . agitabantur.' We must say, 'Thus in various ways through the whole army there was the agitation of joy, sorrow, wailing and rejoicing.'

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(FROM KRITZ).

A.V.C.	B.C.	
548	206	Masinissa is received as a friend of the Roman people by Scipio (c. 5).
553	201	Masinissa receives a part of the territory which had belonged to Carthage (c. 5).
606	148	Masinissa dies.—Micipsa receives the kingdom, first in conjunction with his brothers, and then he has it by himself (c. 6).
619	135	In the winter of this year Jugurtha comes with Numidian troops to Numantia to the camp of Scipio (c. 7).
621	133	After the destruction of Numantia, Jugurtha returns to Numidia with great reputation (c. 8).
633	121	Jugurtha is adopted by Micipsa (c. 9. 11).
636	118	Micipsa dies (c. 11).
638	116	Hiempsal is treacherously killed by Jugurtha (c. 12).
—	—	Jugurtha invades the territories of Adherbal (c. 13).
—	—	Adherbal goes to Rome for help (c. 14).
—	—	Ten commissioners (legati) are sent to Africa to divide the kingdom of Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal (c. 16).
—	—	Fresh war between Jugurtha and Adherbal. Adherbal is besieged in Cirta (c. 20, 21).
—	—	Three legati are sent into Africa (c. 22).
—	—	Adherbal being blockaded in Cirta sends to Rome for help (c. 23, 24).
—	—	Three legati are sent to Africa (c. 25).
—	—	Cirta is surrendered, and Adherbal is killed.
642	112	At the suggestion of Memmius the Roman Senate determine on war with Jugurtha (c. 27).
643	111	L. Calpurnius Bestia, consul, is sent to Africa with an army (c. 28).
—	—	He is bribed by Jugurtha, and neglects his commission (c. 29).
—	—	The summer campaign being ended he returns to Rome. Memmius attacks the nobility with bitter invectives (c. 30, 31).
—	—	The praetor Cassius is sent to Africa to summon Jugurtha to Rome (c. 32).
—	—	The inquiry at Rome into Jugurtha's conduct is frustrated by his partizans (c. 33, 34).
644	110	Massiva is killed at Rome by the treachery of Jugurtha (c. 35).

A.V.C.	B.C.	
644	110	Albinus, consul, conducts the war badly in Africa: he returns to Rome, and leaves his brother Aulus in command of the army (c. 36).
—	—	No 'comitia' at Rome during this year (c. 37).
—	—	Aulus conducts the war unskilfully, and is sent under the yoke (c. 37, 38).
645	109	Albinus, who is still consul, goes to Africa (c. 39).
—	—	At Rome a strict inquiry is made into the conduct of Jugurtha's friends, pursuant to a Rogatio proposed by Mamilius (c. 40).
—	—	Q. Caecilius Metellus being elected consul conducts the war against Jugurtha with judgment and success (c. 43—62).
646	108	Metellus' authority is continued during this year, c. 62.
—	—	The Roman garrison at Vaga is massacred through the treachery of the townsmen (c. 66—69).
—	—	Metellus unsuccessfully plots treachery against Jugurtha with the aid of Bomilcar and Nabdalsa (c. 70—72).
—	—	Marius obtains from Metellus leave to go to Rome, where he is elected consul (c. 63—65, and c. 70).
—	—	Jugurtha is defeated again by Metellus. The city Thala is taken (c. 74—76).
—	—	Jugurtha takes Bocchus as an ally (c. 80, 81).
—	—	Metellus having heard that Marius would supersede him conducts the war with little vigour (c. 82, 83).
647	107	Marius, consul, makes active preparation for war, and attacks Jugurtha (c. 84. 86—89).
—	—	He takes Capsa (c. 89, 90).
—	—	He storms a strong fort (c. 92—94).
—	—	Sulla, quaestor, comes to the camp (c. 95).
—	—	Jugurtha and Bocchus at the close of summer are twice defeated (c. 97—101).
—	—	Towards the close of the year Bocchus shows that he wishes for peace (c. 102).
648	106	Sulla displays great prudence, cunning, and daring, in the events of this year (c. 103—113).
—	—	Jugurtha is betrayed to Sulla by Bocchus (c. 113).
649	105	Marius still remains in Africa to settle affairs.
—	—	Marius in his absence is elected consul again (c. 114).
650	104	Marius triumphs on the Kal. Jan.

C. SALLUSTI CRISPI

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

1. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod imbecilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neque majus aliud neque praestabilius invenias, magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est. Qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et

1. *aevi brevis*] 'Short lived.' The genitives are equivalent to an adjective. Comp. "summae audaciae," Cat. 18.—'forte:' the same element 'fort' appears in 'fortuna.' He says a little further on 'neque fortuna eget.' 'Fors' is that which we cannot control. Horace, Sat. i. 1. 1, says,

"Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo quam sibi sortem
Seu ratio dederit seu fors objecerit, illa
Contentus vivat?"

contra] 'On the other hand, if you reflect.'—'majus aliud:' 'greater than man's nature.'

dux atque imperator] Comp. Cat. c. 1.—'imperator:' 'absolute ruler.' 'Imperator' is the commander-in-chief, under whom there may be many 'duces.' Caesar (B. G. iii. 21) writes, "quid sine imperatore . . . adolescentulo duce efficere possent."

grassatur] See c. 64.—'pollens:' this is explained to mean 'full of strength;' and 'potens' expresses the exercise of the power (Kritz). Lucretius (ii. 650) has "Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri." See Jug. c. 6, "pollens viribus." —'quippe—potest:' see Cat. c. 48. Kritz has 'quippe quae.'—'sin captus—usus:' 'but if the mind being taken captive by depraved passions has sunk down (pessumdatus) into sloth and sensual pleasures, having enjoyed for a short time its pernicious inclinations.'—'auctores:' literally 'every man his own fault, those who are the causes of it transfer to circumstances.' We should say, 'every man, though he is to blame himself (auctor), transfers the blame to circumstances.'—'aliena:' this is opposed to 'bonae res,' virtue, a man's proper pursuit. 'Aliena' are things which are not his proper pursuit. —'regerentur:' 'casibus' understood. The result of this would be that 'instead of mortality, they would become ever enduring in glory.' Cort has 'ubi pro mortalibus.' After such trifling we have a fit conclusion. By his virtue man gets eternal glory instead of mortality. He does die, Sallust could not deny that; but he lives in peo-

clarus est, neque fortuna eget; quippe probitatem, industriam aliasque artis bonas neque dare neque eripere [cuiquam] potest; sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessumdatus est, perniciosa lubidine paulisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur; suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quodsi hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multumque etiam periculosa petunt, neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent uti pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.

2. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima est, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingeni egregia facinora sicut anima immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt et aucta senescunt; animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque

ple's memory, for that is glory. But if people forget a man, his glory is gone; and what difference does it make to him after he is dead, whether he is forgotten or not? Allen compares what Cicero says of glory (pro Milone, c. 35).

2. *genus hominum*] This, says Kritz, must be rendered in German by 'der Mensch;' and it should be rendered in English by 'man.'—'ex corpore et anima:' he has said this before (Cat. c. 1). 'Sequuntur' means 'are conformable to either the nature of the body, or the nature of the mind.'

Igitur] Accordingly all corporeal things soon perish, being of the nature of the body, mortal.

Postremo] Compare the use of 'postremo' in Cat. c. 14, 'to sum up,' 'to say all in a few words.'—'incorruptus:' it is not corrupted, and it is incorruptible.—'habet,' &c.: the mind possesses or has in its power all things, and is not possessed by, or under the power of, any thing.

corporis gaudiis] 'Corporeal pleasures.' But as Kritz remarks, 'gaudium' is a mental emotion, and 'corporis gaudia' is an unusual combination. See Cat. c. 61, "luctus atque gaudia."—'ceterum:' see Cat. c. 51 note.—'incultu:' 'through want of cultivation,' 'neglect.'—'artes animi:' the Romans also write 'bonae artes,' 'malae artes' (Cat. c. 2). Kritz translates 'artes animi' by 'geistige Leistungen,' 'mental efforts.'

melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt, quum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

3. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur, quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi, quibus per fraudem is fuit, tuti aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est, quum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam aliaque hostilia portendant; frustra

3. *ex his*] These words refer to 'artes animi' (c. 2), though he means the things which are got by 'artes animi,' such as 'magistratus' (civil offices) and 'imperia' (military command). He says, 'in fine, any (omnis) participation in public business is in my opinion at this time a thing not to be desired.' 'Cupiunda' refers in meaning to 'magistratus' and 'imperia,' as well as to 'cura.'—'hac tempestate:' he was writing in the troublesome times which followed Caesar's assassination.—'honos:' Kritz takes 'honos' not to mean 'magistratus,' but respect, reputation; and accordingly he writes 'quibus per fraudem vis fuit.' 'Is' refers to 'honori.' Cort has 'per fraudem jus fuit,' and he understands it thus, 'jus fuit honoris,' which is certainly a false explanation. The readings are 'uis fuit,' 'ius fuit,' and 'is fuit,' all of which are easily confounded. Jacobs has 'is,' which is the best.—'tuti:' Kritz has 'utique tuti,' and he explains 'utique' by 'prorsus, ab omni parte.' It means 'in any way.' 'Honesti,' 'honoured,' 'respected.'

parentes] 'Subjects of the Roman state,' as in c. 102. 'Parentes' is opposed to 'patriam,' Rome and Italy. The complete expression is 'imperio parentes' (as in B. G. v. 2, "neque imperio parebant"). — 'quamquam et possis:' 'though you may be able (to govern) them by force,' and 'improve them (delicta corrigas).'—'importunum:' 'dangerous,' 'troublesome.'—'portendant:' the same as if it were 'protendant,' 'hold before,' 'show as the consequences,' 'in Assicht stellen (Kritz), 'place in prospect.'—'frustra—niti:' against those who are in power, as Kritz says.—'neque aliud,' &c.: 'and to get nothing by your labour but hatred,' if you strive for the public good.—'nisi forte,' &c.: he has spoken of two parties, those who usurp power, and those who only get unpopularity ('odium') by striving to do their country good. There may be a third kind of people, which he expresses thus: 'unless perchance any man is possessed by a dishonourable and pernicious passion, to surrender his honour and his liberty to the power of a few.' The connexion of this sentence with the foregoing is this, 'no man will be mad enough to labour for the public interest to his own loss; except perchance he should be mean enough to surrender, &c.; and to surrender (gratificari) his honour for profit.' He writes absurdly. When men have usurped power, there are always plenty ready to serve under them. 'Potentiae—gratificari' depends on 'lubido tenet.' This is something like "non fuit consilium ... conterere," Cat. c. 4.

autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

4. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum. Cujus de virtute quia multi dixere praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existumet memet studium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certe quibus maxuma industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim, et quales

4. *memoria—gestarum*] This is what we call History. 'The remembrance of what has been done' may be his meaning, if we consider the purpose of history. If this is not his meaning, it is the record of what has been done.

per insolentiam] 'Self sufficiency,' 'arrogance.' Of course the 'insolentia' refers to himself 'memet . . . extollere.' Many have spoken of the uses of history. Thucydides in his preface and Polybius in his preface. Cort has 'memet studium laudando.'

Atque ego] 'Atque' means 'and indeed,' or 'even.' It adds something emphatic to what has preceded, as Kritz says. Sallust was a vain man. He thinks that people would be talking of him. It is much more likely that nobody cared what he was doing. He had never been of any use, and was not wanted now.—'certe:' 'those at least.' "A sharp censure," says Jacobs, "of those who are least entitled to blame others," of men who got their election by 'salutatio plebis,' which is what our candidates in their circulars call by the modest name of a 'personal canvass.' 'Convivia' is what we call 'treating.' A Roman and an English canvass were the same. The Romans gave dinners to the worthy electors, and our men set the beer barrels a running. The men who were candidates for the votes in this way, would not be the men to complain of Sallust's inactivity in keeping out of the field. A man with Sallust's purse, if he had given up history and taken to canvassing, would have spoiled somebody's election.

magistratus adeptus sim] See the Preface.—'in senatum pervenerint:' Caesar brought in some, as it is said, who ought not to have been there (Cic. ad Fam. vi. 18), and others of a like kind were introduced after his death by M. Antonius (Sueton. c. 35). These were the 'Orcini,' as they were called.—'merito:' 'with good reason.' It is often joined with a pronoun, as 'merito ejus' (B. G. v. 4).—'judicium animi:' 'my principles' ('Grundsätze,' Kritz). It is one of Cicero's expressions.—'otio—negotiis:' what they would call Sallust's 'otium' was not 'otium' in his judgment. It was a 'negotium' (ceterum ex aliis, &c.). Their 'negotia,' as he names them, consisted in the holding of public offices, which could not be honourably got nor exercised for the benefit of the country.

viri idem assequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existumabunt me magis merito quam ignavia judicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis rei publicae venturum. Nam saepe ego audivi Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissume sibi animum ad virtutem accendi; scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra quis est omnium his moribus quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara

Q. Maxumum] The man named Cunctator who checked Hannibal. Scipio is probably the first Africanus, or, if not the first, it is the second.—'imagines:' see c. 85.—'scilicet—ceram:' Jacobs says that 'ceram' depends on 'scilicet' (comp. c. 102. 113), and then the remark is Sallust's. 'In sese' will mean 'in itself,' as in Cicero, pro Murena, c. 1, "precatio . . . tantam habet in se vim." Kritz says that 'ceram,' &c. depends on 'solitos ita dicere,' and of course he makes 'sese' refer to Maximus and Scipio, and Sallust's remark begins with 'sed memoria,' for Sallust is speaking in his own person when he says 'egregiis viris.' I think that what Maximus and Scipio used to say ends with 'ad virtutem accendi.'—'eorum famam:' that is 'majorum famam.' Caesar (B. G. ii. 32) uses 'adaequare' with an accusative.

At contra] Comp. 'nam contra' c. 1.—'his moribus:' 'in such a state of morality.' It is a common use of the ablative. Terence (Phorm. i. 2, 5) says the same in this form, 'ut nunc sunt mores;' and Cicero, pro P. Quintio, c. 18, quoted by Jacobs, has 'his moribus' in the same sense.—'homines novi:' see Cat. c. 23, and as to 'nobilitas,' Cat. c. 36.—'proinde quasi:' see Cat. c. 12. He then says 'perinde habeantur ut;' but this 'perinde' is a doubtful form. However he means 'and are not really possessed, except so far as those who hold them are honest men.' Terence has 'perinde ut' (Hauton. i. 2, 21), "Atque haec perinde sunt ut illius animus qui ea possidet."—'liberius altiusque:' 'too freely and too far.' Kritz and others take 'liberius' to mean that he had exceeded the proper limits of a preface, which he has done. As to 'altius,' 'deeper,' Kritz compares Livy 31, c. 1, "in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum invehi." Sallust's weariness and disgust at the state of morals have led him to say too much. We should have had a better opinion of him if he had said less.

et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur ut eorum qui ea sustinent virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque; nunc ad inceptum redeo.

5. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum gessit, primum quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit, dein quia tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est, quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit eoque vecordiae processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis magisque in aperto sint.

Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxume attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat, ob quae victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascunque urbis et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: [sed] imperi

5. *Bellum scripturus*] Here he begins his story. We should have lost nothing if he had left out the first four chapters.—'variaque victoria:' this ablative like the genitive 'aevi brevis' (c. 1) is equivalent to an adjective. 'A war in which victory changed' from one side to the other.—'superbiae nobilitatis—itum est:' 'the pride of the nobility met with opposition' from C. Marius and others. After the war with Jugurtha came the Social War and the Civil War of Marius and Sulla.

expedio] Jacobs compares Cicero, pro Mil. c. 3, "sed antequam ad eam orationem venio . . . videntur ea mihi esse refutanda."—'supra repetam:' see Cat. c. 5, 'supra repetere.'—'in aperto:' Tacit. Agric. c. 1.

post magnitudinem] 'Since the Roman name had become great.' 'Nomen Romanum' is the Romans. Comp. 'nomen Latinum,' c. 39. Hannibal invaded Italy B.C. 218. Masinissa, son of Gala, king of the Massyli, attacked Syphax, who had become an ally of the Romans, B.C. 213. Syphax afterwards joined the Carthaginians, and Masinissa became an ally of the Romans when P. Scipio landed in Africa, B.C. 206.—'capto Syphace:' Syphax was defeated and captured by C. Laelius, B.C. 203, with the assistance of Masinissa. Masinissa thus became king of all Numidia as far as the borders of Mauretania.—'magnum atque late imperium:' 'whose kingdom was large and of wide extent.' An adjective in the predicate ('magnum') and an adverb also in the predicate are sometimes thus united.

[*sed*] *imperi*] Masinissa reached

vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit, Jugurthamque, filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

6. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et quum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire, plurumum facere, minumum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus

the age of ninety, and was active to the last (Liv. Ep. 50; Cicero, de Sen. c. 10; Polyb. xxxvi. ed. Bekk.). His 'imperium' ended in a manner with his life, for his three sons administered the kingdom together according to Scipio's regulation; but the death of two of the brothers left Micipsa in the possession of all the power (Appian, Punic. c. 106). Sallust's narrative leaves it doubtful whether Micipsa's two brothers died in Masinissa's life or after Masinissa's death, but if we follow Appian, who says that the three brothers administered the kingdom together, and if we take Sallust's meaning to be that after their death Micipsa alone had the authority, the Roman and the Greek will agree. But Cort writes 'permansit: imperii vitaeque,' &c., to which we may give a different interpretation, as Allen has done. The emphasis is on 'permansit:' 'his friendship to the Romans remained to the end profitable and true: his power and his life ended together.' He maintained his power as long as he lived and his fidelity to Rome.

When Sallust says that Micipsa the son held all the power that his father had, we cannot infer from what he says that his two brothers ever shared it with him. There appears to be no sense in the passage then, unless we omit 'sed,' and take the meaning to be this, as Allen explains it, and others before him, as I infer from Cort's note, 'Masinissa, a faithful ally to Rome, held his power as long as he lived, and Micipsa succeeded him in his royal authority.'

privatum reliquerat] The old king, we must suppose, had declared that Jugurtha should have no royal rank, and that he must be like any other subject.—'eodem cultu:' still Micipsa brought up Jugurtha 'like his own children.' See Cat. c. 37, "regio victu atque cultu." Allen compares Livy 45, c. 28, "Filiam . . . liberali cultu habuit."

6. *decora facie*] This means his whole external appearance (Jacobs); his make. See Cat. c. 15.—'luxu:' the dative in place of 'luxui.'—'equitare:' he passes from the absolute tense 'dedit' to the infinitives 'equitare,' &c., which denote Jugurtha's habits. — 'leonem:' he hunted the lion, which still infests Jugurtha's country, part of the modern Algeria. There is also the panther, another dangerous beast (Blakesley's Algeria, p. 200).

Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adulescentem, exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat [eum] natura mortalium, avida imperi et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris viros spe praedae transvorsos agit, ad hoc studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat.

7. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et appetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis et eo modo fortunam temptare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa quum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter ac

tametsi—tamen] A common formula in Cicero and Caesar, but Caesar has 'etsi . . . tamen' more frequently. — 'hominem adulescentem:' 'the young man.' 'Hominem' is emphatic. See Cat. c. 4.—'et parvis liberis:' he was old ('exacta aetate') and 'his children were young.' 'Parvis' is the predicate and corresponds to 'exacta.'

praeceps ad] See Cat. c. 37, 'praeceps.'—'opportunitas suae,' &c.: 'the opportunity presented by his own age and the youth of his children.' 'Quae' refers to 'opportunitas' only. It is 'opportunitas' or 'occasion which drives men even of ordinary character (mediocris) out of the straight course (e recta regione) into cross paths.' Comp. c, 14, 'transvorsus agat.' Allen writes 'viros saepe transvorsos agit,' and if one might choose between the two readings, his is the better. He says that 'saepe' is sometimes written in the abbreviated form 'spe,' and that in this passage the copyist taking it to be the ablative of 'spes,' added 'praedae,' in order that the 'res sperata' might not be wanting. Perhaps the true reading may be 'viros spe transvorsos.'—'ex quibus:' 'and in consequence of this popularity (studiis).' Caesar would have said 'ex quibus studiis,' 'ex quibus rebus.'

7. *manu promptus*] 'A man of action.'

bello Numantino] This Spanish war began in B.C. 143. It was ended in B.C. 133 with the capture of Numantia by P. Scipio Africanus the younger. Numantia was in the country of the Pelendones on the Upper Durius (Duero).

aliter ac] That is, 'aliter evenit ac aliter ratus erat.' But they made one clause of it, 'aliter ac,' and they

ratus erat evenit. Nam Jugurtha ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea modestissume parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem afferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cujus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingeni solertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

8. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque

understood it to mean 'different from what he had expected.' 'Pariter' is used the same way: "Pariter nunc opera me adjuvas ac re dudum opitulata es" (Ter. Phorm. v. 2, 3).

ut erat] See Cat. c. 31, note.—'naturam P. Scipionis:' Scipio began the Numantine war by reforming the army. "Scipio Africanus Numantiam obsedit, et corruptum licentia luxuriaque exercitum ad severissimam militiae disciplinam revocavit" (Livy, Ep. 57).

in primis] 'Among the first,' whether things or men are spoken of, serves to strengthen 'difficillumum:' 'It is the most difficult thing among the first' (in difficulty). Kritz expresses it in German, 'was eine höchst schwierige Aufgabe der ersten Grösse ist,' 'and that is a very difficult task of the first magnitude.' Allen connects 'in primis' (omitting 'est') with 'et proelio strenuus,' &c., and he objects to the double superlative 'quod difficillumum in primis est,' but Cicero has this form.—'quorum alterum—alterum:' the first 'alterum' refers to 'bonus consilio.'—'quippe cujus—frustra erat:' see Sall. Cat. c. 48; and c. 71, "id frustra fuit."

Huc accedebat] A common expression, where the adverbial form 'huc' is equivalent to a dative or to 'ad' and an accusative: 'added to this were a munificent disposition and a ready talent, by which qualities (rebus) he had attached to himself in intimate friendship many of the Romans.'

8. *novi*] 'Homines' is omitted here and in c. 63. 65. See Cat. c. 23.—'factiosi:' they formed 'factiones,' political parties. The end was to get place and power at Rome. In the provinces ('apud socios') they assumed authority over those whom they looked on as the subjects of Rome. They were insolent, arrogant, rapacious, and hated.—'clari:' Kritz compares Livy viii. 27, "clari magis inter populares quam honesti," and Tacit. Hist. ii. 10, "Vibius Crispus inter claros magis quam inter bonos."—'non mediocrem:' see c. 6, 'mediocres viros.'—'pollicitando:' perhaps this

potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Jugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperio Numidiae potiretur; in ipso maxumam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse. Sed postquam Numantia deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Jugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, uti potius publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret, neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi quod multorum esset; si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum.

9. Sic locutus cum litteris eum quas Micipsae redderet dimisit. Earum sententia haec erat: "Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certe scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa." Igitur rex, ubi ea quae fama acceperat ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, quum virtute, tum gratia viri per-

word refers to 'si Micipsa . . . venalia esse.' They repeatedly held out to him these expectations.

pro contione] 'In presence of the army,' as in Liv. 38, c. 23: so 'pro castris' (Caesar, B. G. i. 48) means 'in front of the camp.'—'publice—privatim,' &c.: 'to cultivate the friendship of the Roman people rather by his services to the state ('publice') than to individuals' ('privatim').—'neu quibus,' &c.: and he advised him 'not to get the habit of lavishing money on any.' 'Largitio' is an expenditure for a dishonourable purpose, to bribe and corrupt.—'periculose—emi,' &c.: 'it was dangerous to buy from a few what belonged to many,' to the State. 'Periculose emi' is a Latin form like 'ripae non bene creditur' (Virg. Ec. iii. 95), 'it is not safe to trust the bank.'—'in suis artibus:' 'if he would persevere in his own ways,' in the good way (see c. 2, 'artes'), that glory and royal power would come to him without seeking ('ultro') them. They would come in the direction ('ultro') to him; he would not have to go to them. Kritz remarks that when the second person would be used in the direct form, 'ille' is used in the oblique form, as in Jug. c. 11, 33, 51, 56, 62, 64, 65, 106.—'suamet:' see Cat. c. 23. 'That by his own money he would be brought to ruin.'

9. *gratia viri*] By the favour and good will which the man (Jugurtha) had got.—'flexit animum:' 'he changed his mind' or 'purpose.' See c. 7, and c. 62, 'flectere animum suum.'—'beneficiis vincere:' 'to gain him by kindness:' 'vincere'

motus flexit animum suum et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est, statimque eum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus quum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

10. "Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi, existumans non minus me tibi quam si genuissem ob beneficia carum fore; neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissume rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti, tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est; postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis est, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitae facit, per hanc dexteram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque,

has a different meaning here from that which it has in c. 102, 110, as Jacobs remarks.—'statimque—adoptavit:' Sallust writes after the Roman fashion. At Rome a man could adopt a person in conformity to certain rules of law, and the act of adoption put the person in the legal condition of a child to the adopter (Gaius, i. 97).

Numantia was destroyed B.C. 133, and Micipsa died B.C. 118 (Livy, Ep. 62). In c. 11 it is said that Jugurtha was adopted three years before Micipsa's death. Here Sallust says that Jugurtha was adopted on his return from the Numantine war, and that Micipsa died a few years after the adoption.—'heredem instituit:' this is the Roman expression used to signify that a testator by his written testament has in due form ('sollemni more') named a person his 'heres' or one of his 'heredes.' The Romans also said 'heredem facio,' 'Titium heredem esse volo.' The making of a 'heres' in due form was 'institutio heredis' (Gaius, ii. 116, 117). See Jug. c. 65.

morbo—confectus] 'Worn out, exhausted.' So Caesar (B. G. iii. 5) says 'vulneribus confectus,' which does not mean that a man is killed.

10. *in meum regnum*] He must mean 'into his house' (c. 5, 'eodem cultu quo liberos'): he cannot mean his adoption, for that took place much later.—'neque—falsum me habuit:' it means, 'neque me fefellit.'—'novissume:' 'last of all.' See Cat. c. 33.—'renovatum:' Masinissa had been in Spain in the Second Punic War (Livy 28, c. 35).

per regni fidem] He first entreats Jugurtha 'by this right hand,' the king's own right hand; and accordingly 'per regni fidem' must mean 'my royal honour,' the 'fides' of Micipsa, his integrity and good faith to Jugurtha which he had shown by his acts. See c. 24, 'per amicitiae fidem.'—'propinqui:' this word often means 'kinsmen' without any addition such as 'genere.' It is the same as 'sanguine conjuncti.'—'beneficio—fratres:' by the adoption by Micipsa.

ut hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas, neu malis alienos adjungere quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat providēre decet. Nam in omni certamine qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar quam genuisse."

11. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio justa magni-

verum amici] 'Verum' does not denote opposition. It confirms what has been said by adding an affirmation to the negation. Kritz compares c. 31, "non lex, verum lubido."

Equidem ego] See Cat. 51, and 57.

ante hos te] 'You before them,' or, as we should say, 'it is not so much they as you who ought;' and this or some similar translation should be made in order to keep the position of 'te' and 'qui.'

Nam in omni certamine] He is referring to 'discordia:' 'for whenever there is a quarrel, he who is the more powerful, &c. is considered to be the wrong doer.' Jugurtha was the more powerful, and therefore he must be more careful not to quarrel with his brothers, for he would bear the blame.

colite, observate] We have no exact words for either of these terms. 'Colere aliquem,' says Kritz, means to do what is agreeable to a man and to help him, as far as you can; and 'observare' means to omit nothing which will please him.

11. *ficta locutum*] 'that he did not think what he said;' and that is true, if he did say this. Sallust not only knows what Micipsa is said ('dicitur') to have said, but he also knows what Jugurtha thought ('ipse longe aliter' &c.).—'pro tempore:' 'for the occasion,' as we say. It means 'in presence of the circumstances (pro tempore) he answered in kind terms' (benigne).

paucis post diebus] Within a few days after; 'post' being used as an adverb, as 'circiter' often is. See Cat. c. 30. Cort omits 'post' in this passage.

illi] is the dative.—'justa:' 'a funeral.' It is an adjective, and means 'what was proper on the occasion.'—'reguli:' 'petty kings,' a word which Livy uses.

fice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox et jam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextera Adherbalem assedit, ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, ut aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi quum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit, oportere quinquenni consulta et decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus [his] proxumis annis adoptatione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae altius quam quisquam ratus [erat] descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo cum animo habere quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

12. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finisque imperi singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte ejus domo utebatur, qui proxumus lictor Jugurthae

minumus] 'Natu' omitted as in Livy i. 53. — 'ferox :' 'proud, haughty.' See Cat. c. 5.—'Adherbalem assedit :' this verb is used on other occasions by Sallust absolutely, without a case, Cat. 31. 53 (Jacobs). —'honori ducitur :' that is, 'honori esse ducitur,' 'is considered to be an honour.'

fatigatus] 'Importuned.' See c. 66. Horace (Carm. i. 2) writes, "prece qua fatigent . . . Vestam."— 'quinquenni :' 'of the last five years.'—'nam—valuisse :' this is not an unusual use of the infinitive after 'nam' in such a clause. We must supply the notion of 'saying' or 'affirming,' which is to be derived from 'jacit,' 'he lets drop,' as we say.— 'tribus—proxumis :' see c. 9. Cort writes 'tribus his proxumis (annis).'

cum animo habere] Kritz compares 'cum animo reputans,' c. 13, and 'cum animo volvebat,' c. 6. Cort omits 'cum' in this passage.

12. *Thirmida*] The site of this place is unknown.

proxumus lictor] Among the Romans the 'proxumus lictor' was the lictor who walked immediately in front of the 'magistratus,' and behind the rest. He was the chief lictor.—'impellitque :' Cort omits these words.

carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti, tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas paret, nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur, ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi conficit atque uti doctus erat noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedis irrupere, divorsi regem quaerere, dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere quum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

13. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divolgatur; Adherbalem omnisque qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant metus invadit; in duas partis discedunt Numidae; plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat, urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit, omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha patratis consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere popu-

portarum] 'The town gates.'—'divorsi:' 'going in different directions.' See Cat. c. 20.

mulieris ancillae] 'A woman who was a slave.' 'Ancilla' is the usual term for a female slave, "si quis cum aliena ancilla, quam credebat liberam esse, coierit," &c. (Gaius i. 85.)

13. *Africam*] 'Africa.' He means the continent of Africa. The report soon spread everywhere.—'discedunt Numidae:' Cort omits 'Numidae.'

fortunis suis] Kritz remarks that Sallust uses the plural in an unusual way in the sense in which the singular is used. He refers to c. 14, 23, 62, and 83. I doubt if his remark is true. 'Fortunae' is used in the plural with a possessive pronoun by Caesar and Cicero in the sense of all a man's property, and also all his interests, including his life. See B. G. iii. 12.

in provinciam] The Roman Provincia of Africa. See c. 19.

postquam—potiebatur] Cort rejected these words as being a very bad interpolation.

lum Romanum neque advorsus iram ejus usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo legatos Romam mittit, quis praecepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos acquirant, postremo quaecunque possint largiundo parare ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta commutatio incessit ut ex maxuma invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti singulos ex senatu ambiundo nitebantur ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

14. "Patres conscripti. Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi praecepit, uti regni Numidiae tantummodo procurationem existumarem meam, ceterum jus et imperium ejus penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maxumo usui esse populo Romano, vos mihi cognatorum, vos affinium loco ducerem; si ea fecissem, in vostra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quae quum praecepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet scele-

in senatu auctoritas] Cort omits 'in senatu,' and also 'munera.'—'quorum pars:' 'quorum' refers to 'nobiles' contained in the word 'nobilitatis.'

ne—consuleretur] 'That no severe decision should be made against him,' or, as Jacobs explains it, 'ne gravius in eum fieret senatus consultum.'

senatus—datur] 'An audience is granted by the senate.' It is the usual expression, 'senatus datur,' or 'datus est.'

14. *procurationem*] 'The administration.' A 'procurator' is one who acts in a matter for another. The word has a technical meaning, which it is not necessary to explain here (Gaius iv. 81). Cort writes 'regnum Numidiae . . . procuratione . . . meum.'—'ceterum:' 'in all other respects.' See Cat. c. 51. Livy (45, c. 13) combines 'dominium et jus,' where 'dominium' corresponds to 'imperium' here. 'Jus' may be translated 'authority,' or 'supremacy,' or 'sovereignty.'—'cognatorum—loco:' 'as kinsmen, as my connections by blood,' meaning, as his nearest and dearest friends. 'Loco' is used in this manner. Caesar (B. G. i. 26) writes, "qui si juvissent, se eodem loco quo Helvetios habiturum." Cort has 'in adfinium locum.'—'munimenta—habiturum:' 'munimenta regni habere,' Cort, following two MSS.

Quae quum — agitarem] 'And while I was engaged in following these precepts.' Sallust writes (Cat. 2), 'vita hominum sine cupiditate

ratissumus, contempto imperio vostro, Masinissae me nepotem et jam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob majorum meorum beneficia posse me a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxume deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrumum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vostram appetiverunt; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me nepotem Masinissae frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussae

agitabatur,' and in this chapter, 'pacem agitabamus.' — 'jam ab stirpe:' 'a born ally and friend,' as Jacobs translates it, and this is the meaning. 'Jam,' 'even,' marks the emphasis on 'ab stirpe.' 'Socius et amicus' was a title conferred by the Roman Senate on foreign kings: "Quod rex appellatus esset a Senatu, quod amicus" (Caesar, B. G. i. 43). The words of Hiempsal, 'jam ab stirpe,' receive their full meaning when we recollect that this title of 'amicus' was conferred on his grandfather Masinissa (Livy 30, c. 15).

venturus eram] 'Since it was my fate to fall into such troubles.'— 'vellem —posse me — petere:' 'I wish that it had been in my power to ask of you.' He wishes that had been possible which was now impossible. — 'ac maxume:' he means 'maxume vellem,' correcting what he has said: 'and I wish most of all that the Roman people had been my debtors, without my standing in need of repayment; next to this (secundum ea), if I had need of their services, that I might have had them as my due' (debitis uterer). 'Secundum ea' is thus used by Caesar, B. G. i. 33.

neque mihi in manu—foret] 'Jugurtha qualis foret' stands as a nominative to 'neque . . . fuit,' 'nor was Jugurtha's conduct under my control.' Compare c. 31. Terence, Hauton. iv. 4. 44 is compared: "Uxor quid faciat in manu non est mea."

in suis dubiis rebus] Masinissa was expelled from his kingdom, and came to the Roman camp with a single troop of horse (Livy 37, c. 53, quoted by Allen). His affairs were certainly 'dubiae,' or rather very bad.

fides quam fortuna] 'At a time when there was reason for seeking the alliance of the Roman people more than their good fortune.'— 'Quorum progeniem — me:' 'quorum' refers to 'familia nostra.' Cort omits 'me nepotem Masinissae.'

haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto, tamen erat majestatis Romani populi prohibere injuriam neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego iis finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avus meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. Vostra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, ut, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissumum stirpis tuae exstinctor sit? Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia saeva patiebamur; hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est,

deformatus] 'Deformatus' means that which has lost its form, and consequently no longer is what it was.—'tamen erat:' he began, 'If I had not had any reason' ('si nihil caussae haberem'), but he had reason. He then says, 'still it would have been consistent with the dignity.' 'Erat' is sometimes used in this way. Jacobs compares 'subvenire decebat,' c. 85. The principle is laid down that the dignity of the Roman people requires them to interfere in the business of others, a principle which some nations in Europe reduce to practice. — 'neque pati:' Cort reads 'neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret.' He found 'pati' omitted in one MS., and he added 't' to the end of 'crescere;' and so, as Allen remarks, 'pulcre emendavit.'

in mea injuria] 'While I am wronged.' There is hardly any other way of translating it. Jacobs remarks that 'injuria' with the possessive pronoun always in Sallust means that the person indicated by the possessive pronoun is the object of the injury, the sufferer, not the doer; and of course 'injuria' followed by a genitive must have the same meaning as 'sociorum injurias' in this chapter. This is not the invariable use in other writers. In Caesar, B. G. i. 31. 'injuria Ariovisti' is the wrongful act of Ariovistus; and in B. G. i. 30, Caesar writes "pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani," where we have 'the wrongs done by the Helvetii to the Roman people.'

Huccine—evasere] 'Is this the end, or is this the result of your kindness?' 'Has your generosity had this result or consequence?'

jure] According to the 'jus' o war, the rule of war. "Jus esse belli ut qui vicissent iis quos vicissent quemadmodum vellent imperarent" (Caesar, B. G. i. 36). Or 'jure' may mean 'as a natural consequence,' 'as a necessary consequence;' or, if you like, it is that which is a sufficient reason for a thing.

ex Africa] Cort omits these words.—'nisi—quem—jussissetis:' the antecedent to 'quem' is omitted, 'unless it was some enemy made at your bidding.' Jacobs remarks that the subjunctive is used because no

laeti pacem agitabamus, quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese ecferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit, post, ubi me isdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum exspectantem in imperio vostro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, patres conscripti, uti praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vostram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maxume tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit praestitit, ut in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus in vostra manu est, patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium Jugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est conjunctum nobis fore. Alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam, aut quo potissu-

definite enemy is indicated. When the indicative is used in the dependent clause of such a sentence, the meaning is quite different: 'quem . . . jusseratis' would express the enemy who was meant. This indefinite form of the subjunctive is a great nicety in the Latin language, but it may be understood with a little care. In the passage of Caesar just quoted, we have 'qui vicissent,' 'the conquerors,' 'quos vicissent,' 'the conquered.'

extorrem patria — effecit] 'Has made me an exile from my country, and made it safer for me to be any where than in my own kingdom.' 'Effecit' has first an accusative case after it, which with the verb forms a predicate, and then it has after it a clause which expresses a consequence. We see how Sallust fell into this form of expression. He had said 'me capere nequit,' and he continues, 'nihil expectantem . . . et coopertum miseriis,' and then comes the conclusion, 'effecit ut.' As Allen observes, the regular form of the sentence would be 'effecit, ut... expectans . . . coopertus . . . essem.' But the form of Sallust's sentence is more emphatic. Allen compares Livy 31, c. 27, "Hic metus Codrionem, satis validum et munitum oppidum sine certamine ut dederetur Romanis effecit." 'Extorris' seems to be compounded of 'ex' and 'terra,' the change of the 'e' into the 'o' being a common thing both in the Greek and Latin languages.

sic existumabam] 'This was my opinion;' and the opinion is contained in the words 'qui vostram . . . tutos esse.' Kritz compares 'Ego sic existumo,' followed by an infinitive. Cat. c. 51.

Quod—praestitit] The 'id' suppressed, is explained by the clause 'ut . . . adesset vobis,' 'to help you,' for that is the meaning of 'adesse.' Cort has 'vobis adessent.' — 'in vostra manu:' see above in this chapter.

Alter eorum—vix effugi] Allen corrects thus: 'alter necatus, alter manus impias vix effugi,' quoting

mum infelix accedam? Generis praesidia omnia exstincta sunt; pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit; fratri, quem minume decuit, propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit; affinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros meos alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum moerore et luctu morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso mali accidisset, vos implorarem, patres conscripti, quibus pro magnitudine imperi jus et injurias omnis curae esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam aut quos appellem? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vostram amicitiam infesti sunt? An quoquam mihi adire licet ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta pluruma sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo Masinissa nos ita instituit, patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus; abunde magna praesidia nobis in vostra amicitia fore;

the opinion of Palmerius. Allen ingeniously explains how the text, as he gives it, may have been corrupted. I certainly think that this alteration makes a better sentence, but I do not for that reason conclude that Sallust wrote it so.

quem minume decuit, propinquus] 'He who least of all ought to have done so, a kinsman.' So 'decet' is used. Cicero (de Sen. c. 23) says "quod contra decuit ab illo meum.' In this chapter we have also 'unde (a quo) minume decuit.'—'propinquos ceteros meos:' he had lost his brother, and he now says that his 'affines,' friends, kinsmen, all that remained ('ceteros') had been surprised in various ways.

vitam exigunt] 'Prolong to their death.' (Kritz.)

aut ex necessariis] That is, 'aut quae ex,' &c. 'Ex necessariis' is a neuter and opposed to 'adversa;' but it means 'of those who were most closely bound to me,' that is, Jugurtha and any others.—'jus et injurias omnis:' he means 'every thing.' It is a Roman way of speaking 'rights and wrongs,' all in a word.—'nationesne:' he seems to mean republican states, for he mentions kings next.

hostilia monumenta] 'Evidence of their hostile acts' to those whom he might now appeal to for help.—'instituit:' 'taught us,' 'brought us up in such principles.' Hence 'institutiones' means among the Romans elementary law books.—'huic imperio:' the Roman, of course, for Adherbal is supposed to be addressing Romans.

si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti; omnia secunda et obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae parum cognita transvorsos agat, quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente incognita caussa statuatis: fingere me verba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam, et aliquando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur; ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddat. Jamjam frater, animo meo carissume, quamquam tibi immaturo, et unde minume decuit, vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exsilium, egestatem et omnis has quae me premunt aerumnas cum anima simul

Virtute ac dis volentibus] 'By your own merit and the favour of the gods.' — 'sociorum injurias:' see above in this chapter, p. 117.

transvorsos agat] See c. 6.—'incognita caussa:' 'without hearing his defence.' 'Cognoscere caussam' means to 'hear a case,' to hear the evidence and to decide (c. 104).

cui licuerit] 'While I might have stayed at home,' if I had chosen.

Quod utinam illum—eadem haec simulantem videam] 'Quod' is the accusative after 'simulantem,' and 'quod' is explained by 'eadem haec.' 'Quod' so placed probably almost lost its original signification, and was considered as a conjunction. But the relation of 'quod' to 'fingere . . . simulare' is evident, and the expression is much more emphatic if we look to the real meaning of 'quod,' than if we translate it simply 'but' or the like. This use of 'quod' is common in Cicero.—'aliquando:' 'at last.'—'ne ille:' see Cat. c. 52.—'ferox:' 'arrogant,' 'presumptuous.'—'reddat:' if either you or the gods should at last begin to look after human affairs, 'in truth he would then be punished.' The correction 'reddet,' which is Kritz's reading, does not seem necessary. Kritz compares Cat. c. 52, "Ne ista . . . convortet."

omnis has quae me premunt aerumnas] 'All these my present sufferings.' 'Quae me premunt' is an attribute of 'aerumnas' as much as 'omnis.' The Latin language allowed such a clause to stand between 'omnis has' and 'aerumnas.' We cannot place the words thus in a literal version of 'quae me premunt,' but these words should stand as a part of the expression 'omnis has . . . aerumnas,' and should not be fenced in by a comma before 'quae' and a comma after 'premunt.' Cicero often uses this form, as 'ju-

amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar ipse auxili egens, an regno cons[illegible]m, cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pe[illegible]t. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus ess[illegible]neu vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis i[illegible]ae concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet neque [illegible]i licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, [illegible]ros atque parentes vostros, per majestatem po[illegible]mani subvenite misero mihi, ite obviam injuriae, nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vostrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

15. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae largitione magis quam caussa freti paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum; Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri quod injuriam facere nequivisset. Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur. Fautores legatorum, prae-

diciis qui nunc sunt hominum,' 'by the judgment of living (qui nunc sunt) men.'

consulam, cujus] 'Look after the interests of my kingdom, I whose authority depends on aid from others.' 'Cujus' refers to the 'ego' contained in 'consulam.' 'Vitae necisque potestas' is equivalent to 'regal power.'

emori] This word is said to mean 'to die with pain, wretchedly.' But here it seems to mean 'to die at once.' 'Fortunis meis' is perhaps the dative: 'I wish it were an honourable end for a man in my condition.' Compare Cat. 40, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent," where 'tantis malis' may be either the ablative or dative.—'neu vivere:' this is the other alternative, 'I wish that I could die honourably, or that I could live without being dishonoured;' but neither is possible, as things are ('nunc').

per vos] 'By your own interests,' 'by respect for yourselves,' I entreat you. In such cases, says Jacobs, the 'oro' or 'obtestor' is sometimes omitted. But Cort has 'per vos liberos atque parentes, per' &c., 'I entreat you by your children,' &c., which is a common formula, as in Livy xxiii. 19, "Per ego te, inquit," &c., and in Ter. And. iii. 3. 6, "Per ego te deos oro."—'ite obviam injuriae:' 'resist the wrongful deed.'

15. *ultro bellum inferentem*] 'Bellum inferentem,' 'making war,' would express enough, but he adds 'ultro,' which may either refer to Hiempsal's 'saevitia,' and mean 'further than that,' or it may mean 'even.' In either case 'ultro' strengthens the expression.—'ne se alium:' Cort omits 'se.'

Senatus—consulitur] See Cat. c. 48, 'consulente Cicerone.'—'gratia

terea senatus magna pars gratia depravata Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio sua quasi pro gloria nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat, subveniundum Adherbali et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant; sed ex omnibus maxume Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

16. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, uti decem legati

depravata:' Jacobs supposes the 'fautores' to be those who had been bribed, and the 'gratia depravata,' those who had been prevailed on by the men who had been bribed. Cort omits 'senatus' and writes 'depravati.'

bonum et aequum] He says 'jus bonumque' Cat. c. 9.

Aemilius Scaurus] M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115, and Princeps Senatus. Cicero often mentions him, and in high terms. He spoke Latin well.

ne polluta licentia] 'Lest by giving way to scandalous licence he should light up general dislike, restrained his inclination from his usual bad propensities.' He feared public opinion. 'Polluta licentia' is the nominative. 'Pollutus' appears to be another form of 'prolutus,' 'drenched.'

16. *quae—anteferebat*] 'Qui ... anteferebant,' Cort.—'decem legati:' ten Legati was a usual number to appoint for the settlement of matters in foreign parts. He says 'cujus legationis,' referring to 'legati.' This is the Roman fashion of writing: "legatos ad eum mittunt, cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit" (Caesar, B. G. i. 13).

L. Opimius, consul B.C. 121, being empowered by the Senate, employed an armed force against C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius Flaccus. Gracchus put himself to death. The story is in Plutarch's Life of C. Gracchus. Opimius is one of the men whom Cicero delights to honour.—'victoriam—exercuerat:' see Cat. c. 38. Plutarch says that "the bodies of Caius and Fulvius and their partizans were thrown into the river, the number of dead being three thousand; their property was sold and the produce paid into the treasury" (Plutarch, C. Gracchus, c. 17). We may always refuse assent to Plutarch's numbers, and yet we may accept this fact as true, that the Roman nobles put down this popular rising with great energy and severity, and drenched the streets of Rome with the blood of her citizens. Opimius completed his work by erecting a temple to Concord, which was viewed "as an evidence of his insolence and arrogance, and as a kind of triumph for the slaughter of so many citizens. Accordingly, by night some person wrote under the inscription on the temple the following line:—

regnum quod Micipsa obtinuerat inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent; cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrume victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit; dando et pollicitando multa perfecit uti famae, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus plerosque capit; paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numidiae Mauretaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthae traditur; illam alteram specie quam usu potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

17. Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere, et eas gentis quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit attingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim; cetera quam paucissumis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique in partem tertiam Africam posuere, pauci tantummodo

'The work of Discord makes the temple of Concord.'" (Plutarch.)

Pasquin was at Rome even in those times.

inimicis] 'amicis,' Cort.—'accuratissime recepit:' there are readings 'accepit' and 'accipit.' 'Jugurtha received him with studied attention.'—'pollicitando multa:' Cort omits 'multa.'—'fide:' the dative. See c. 74.—'Reliquos—plerosque:' 'most of the rest;' but he says 'the rest,' and then adds 'most,' which is more emphatic.

agro — opulentior] 'Richer in land' means richer in good land. He adds that the eastern part, Adherbal's share, contained the better ports ('portuosior') and more towns perhaps ('aedificiis').—'possedit:' 'took possession of.' Jacobs remarks that this is from the verb 'possidĕre,' of which we have the form 'possidat' in Lucretius (i. 385). See Cat. c. 45, 'obsidunt,' and Jug. c. 18, 'possedere ea loca.'

17. *postulare — exponere*] Kritz explains the infinitive 'exponere' as the 'complement' of 'postulare;' by which he means, I suppose, that the infinitive 'postulare,' which is placed after 'videtur' consistently with usage, is repeated in the verb 'exponere,' which gives the full meaning. However, this use of an infinitive occurs in Sallust even with 'hortari' (Cat. 5, 'hortari . . . repetere').

asperitatem] That is, 'locorum,' or it may refer to 'nationes' also, for he says (c. 18), "Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique."

in partem tertiam] 'Have placed Africa in the third part;' of course he means 'have made Africa the third part.' Kritz and Jacobs have 'in parte tertia.'—'pauci tantummodo:' Varro, de Ling. Lat. v. 6,

Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani, ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. Mare saevum, importuosum, ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus, coelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat; ad hoc malefici generis pluruma animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se

quoted by Jacobs, is one of those who make only two divisions of the world, as Lucan also does in his Pharsalia (ix. 411), and he also makes Libya (Africa) a part of Europe.

The Greek name for the continent is Libya, which the Romans used too, but they gave the name Africa also to the whole continent, though Africa is properly the Roman province which contained Carthage.

Ea] Africa. It is bounded on the west ('ab occidente') by the straits ('fretum Gaditanum') of the Mediterranean ('nostri maris'). The Romans had no name for the Mediterranean: they called it 'nostrum mare' (comp. Caesar, B. G. v. 1).

The eastern boundary of Africa is the Catabathmus Magnus, or descent, which Sallust calls 'a breadth which slopes down.' There was a fort named Catabathmus on the coast, which place under the Ptolemies marked the western boundary of the Egyptian kingdom. This fort was eighty-six Roman miles west of Paraetonium, and here was the descent from the highlands of Marmarica to the lower country on the east and towards Egypt. The Catabathmus Magnus is at a place now named Akabah. The Catabathmus Minor was between Paraetonium and Alexandria. Sallust's Africa is only the north part along the coast from the Catabathmus Magnus to the Straits of Gibraltar.

Egypt, according to this division, would belong to Asia, though it may be more properly considered as lying between the two continents. Herodotus (ii. 17) does not see any real boundary between Asia and Libya except Egypt, which is divided by the Nile, and part may be said to belong to Asia and part to Libya. In c. 19 Sallust says that the Catabathmus separates Egypt from Africa.

importuosum] 'Without ports or natural harbours.' This is not literally true, but there are few.—'coelo terraque,' &c.: 'there is scarcity of water both in the sky and the earth;' neither much rain nor many springs and rivers.

senectus dissolvit] 'Old age terminates the existence of most;' that is, they reach the term of years which the organized body is capable of reaching, and do not die prematurely of disease. Such was the old king Masinissa (c. 5, note).—'nisi qui:' 'except those who perish by the sword or are destroyed by wild beasts.'—'ad hoc:' 'besides there are.' This is a continuation of his enumeration of the characteristics of Africa. Herodotus (iv. 191) speaks of the animals of northern Africa, and he enumerates elephants among them in the country west of the river Triton. Plutarch also (Pomp. c. 12) speaks of elephants in North Africa, and Pliny (N. H. viii. 1).

permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama quae plerosque obtinet divorsum est, tamen ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissumis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

18. Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cujusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et Armenii, navibus in Africam

plerosque obtinet] 'Which is the general opinion.' But the usual form is 'quae obtinet,' absolutely. —'divorsum:' 'it is different,' that which he is going to write.—'Hiempsalis:' this was the Hiempsal who was restored to his throne by Cn. Pompeius, B.C. 81 (Plut. Pomp. c. 12; Appian, B. C. i. 80). He was the father of Juba. Perhaps he means that these books were written by Hiempsal, whose son Juba also wrote a description of Africa. Sallust probably had these books translated for him, when he was governor of Africa, or explained to him.

fides—erit] 'The credibility of what I say must (erit) depend on those who are the evidence (auctores) for it.'

18. *Gaetuli et Libyes*] Herodotus (iv. 197) comprehends all the original inhabitants of North Libya under the name of Libyes. He names the people of the south Aethiopians. The Gaetuli in Sallust's time occupied the country south of Numidia and Mauritania, but their limits east and west cannot be accurately stated; and they may have been driven south from the countries on the Mediterranean by foreign invaders. They were now a Nomadic people who inhabited the country south of the Atlas and its branches, the tracts bordering on the western part of the great African desert and the oases within it. It is not likely that these people have disappeared, for nobody would covet their country, and we may assume that the people of the western desert now are the descendants of those who were there in Sallust's time, and long before it.—'humi pabulum:' the produce of the earth, the natural produce, just as it was.

neque lege aut imperio] These words form the second member, of which the first is 'neque moribus.'

sibi quisque] The nominative 'quisque' is irregular. It would be the ablative 'quoque' in the regular form of writing. Cort says that 'quisque' must be taken as the abbreviation of 'quibusque,' or we must write, as he does, 'quîque,' which is the same as 'quoque.' 'Quisque' stands, as Kritz remarks, as if the sentence were 'quum amisso duce multi sibi quisque imperium peterent.'

Medi, Persae] The army of Hercules contained Medi, Persae, and Armenii, who passed over into Africa from Spain, and from the corruption of the term Medi came the

transvecti proxumos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae intra Oceanum magis; hique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat; mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gaetulos secum miscuere; et quia saepe temptantes agros alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis accessere Libyes, nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis haud procul ab ardoribus; hique mature oppida habuere; nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter

name Mauri. If this was really in king Hiempsal's books, we know what value to set on these Punic writings. Perhaps Sallust's translator improved the original a little. —'intra Oceanum:' outside of the straits of Gibraltar, and on the shores of the Atlantic; but he says 'magis,' which may mean that most of the Persians settled on the Atlantic, not all.

mutandi] 'getting by exchange of commodities.' Shortly after he says 'mutare res.'—'ignara:' 'unknown.' —'temptantes agros:' 'making experiment of the land' to see what it would produce.—'Nomadas:' he says that they named themselves a wandering people, Νομάδες, as the Greeks wrote the word. The Romans made 'Numidae' out of it. —'mapalia:' Shaw (Travels in Barbary, p. 220) supposes these 'mapalia' to be the tents of the Bedouin Arabs. "They are the very same which the ancients called *mapalia*, and being then as they are to this day secured from the weather by a covering only of such haircloth as our coal-sacks are made of, might very justly be described by Virgil (Georg. iii. 339) to have ('rara tecta') thin roofs."—"The fashion of each tent is of an oblong figure, not unlike the bottom of a ship turned upside down, as Sallust has long ago described them." Shaw supposes the 'magalia' or 'magaria' (Virg. Aen. i. 425) to be the 'gurbis' or huts of the Kabyles, 'magal' or 'magar' being a Punic word for 'nova villa' as Isidore says. Mr. Blakesley (Algeria, p. 151) says that the word "magalia still survives in the Kabyle phrase, ''l mehalla,' a camp." Sallust says 'aedificia,' or buildings, and therefore he is speaking of 'magalia,' if that word is rightly explained; and not of 'mapalia' or tents. There appears to be some confusion between 'magalia' and 'mapalia.' See Servius ad Aen. i. 425, and his quotation of the word 'magalia' and its explanation from Cato. Festus quotes the same passage and uses the form 'mapalia.' It is very probable that 'magalia' and 'mapalia,' and 'magalia' or 'magaria' are all the same word.

Medis—accessere Libyes] The Libyes joined the Medi. Kritz and Jacobs have 'Medi autem et Armenii accessere Libyes.'—'agitabant:' 'lived.'—'sub sole magis:' 'further south.'—'inter se:' 'between the Medi and Armenii in Africa and the Hispani in Hispania, for the notion of 'Hispani' is contained in 'ab Hispania.'

se instituerant. Nomen eorum paulatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca quae proxume Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Dein utrique alteris freti finitumos armis aut metu sub

proxume Carthaginem] 'proxuma Carthagine,' Kritz, Jacobs. Sallust makes the verb 'appellatur' agree with 'Numidia,' the noun of predication.

utrique alteris] He means the Persae in their first settlements on the Ocean, and those who had removed from the Ocean and settled near Carthage: 'the two divisions of the Persae relying on each other.'—'ad nostrum mare:' those who had advanced to the coast of the Mediterranean were most successful in conquest, because the Libyes, who were near the coast, were less warlike than the Gaetuli, who were in the interior.—'pars inferior:' the lower part of the country, that on the coast of the Mediterranean.—'in gentem — concessere:' they yielded and became a part of the nation. Tacitus (Ann. i. 1) has a like expression, "Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere;" and Livy, 29, c. 29, and 31 has 'concedere in.' The Numidae of Sallust's time extended west to the Mulucha the boundary of the kingdom of Jugurtha and Bocchus (c. 92). But Strabo, who wrote in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, makes the river Ampsaga the western boundary of Numidia. In fact Augustus took from Numidia the tract between the Ampsaga and the Mulucha, which was inhabited by the Massaesyli, and attached it to Mauritania. The boundary of Numidia on the east was the river Tusca, now Zain, which lay between Hippo Regius and Utica, which town was in the Carthaginian territory. The southern boundary of Numidia extended south to the desert. The Regency of Algiers extended from a Kabyle village named Twunt by Shaw, the boundary of Algiers and Marocco, to the Zain. Twunt is about forty miles east of the Mulucha. The country named Numidia by the Romans doubtless contained different peoples in Sallust's age and long before his time, and it is probable that the term Numidians comprehended people of different races. The Kabyles of Algiers may however be the descendants of the greater part of the people included in the term Numidians, though the Kabyles themselves have been mixed with other races.

The Greek and Roman writers give the name of Maurusii and Mauri to the people of Mauretania, or Mauritania, the subjects of Bocchus, Jugurtha's treacherous ally. It is said or supposed that the Berbers of Marocco are the representatives of the ancient Mauri, and that the ancient Mauri were of the same stock as the Numidians. But as the Roman term Numidians comprehended all the people in Numidia, though there may have been several races, and one race or nation may have been much more numerous than any other, so we may assume that the term Mauri was equally comprehensive, though one race may have been predominant. The modern name Moors was given, as it is said, and perhaps truly, to the Arabs, who invaded Spain in the eighth century of our aera and held part of it till the end of the fifteenth century, because they came from the country called by the Romans Mauretania. Even now we call all the people of Marocco by the name of

imperium suum coëgere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere, magis ii qui ad nostrum mare processerant quia Libyes quam Gaetuli minus bellicosi. Denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

19. Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperi cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim aliasque urbis in ora marituma condidere, haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theraeon,

Moors, though the Berbers and Shelluhs are perhaps the largest part of the population of Marocco. These Berbers and Shelluhs are both included under the native name of Amazirghes or Mazirghes, a people whose language in several dialects is said to extend from the Atlantic to the Nile, and to be akin to that of the Kabyles of Algeria.

19. *Phoenices*] Herodotus (iv. 197), after speaking of the Libyes and the Aethiopes as the two native nations of Libya, says that two foreign nations had settled in it, Phoenices and Hellenes (Greeks). — 'Hipponem:' there was on the coast Hippo Regius, now Bona, and Hippo Zaritus, now Bizerta, about 130 miles E.N.E. of Hippo Regius, and about thirty-six miles west of Utica.

Hadrumetum or Adrumetum is south of Carthage, on the coast, in the fertile corn country called Byzacium, and on a site now named Susa. This Leptis is Leptis Minor, now Lempta, in the Byzacium south of Hadrumetum. There was also a Leptis Magna, now Lebda, between the small and the large Syrtis. This Leptis was afterwards named Neapolis. Bochart, quoted by Shaw (2nd edit. p. 109), says that 'Leptis' in the Punic language means 'a port.'

originibus suis] 'To their parent states.'—'Nam de:' 'now as to Carthage.' He says 'nam.' He is not going to dwell on this subject.—'properare—monet:' he has the infinitive after 'monet' instead of 'ut' and the subjunctive.

secundo mari] 'As you go along the sea,' and he means from the Catabathmus westward. Compare 'secundo flumine,' Caesar, B. G. vii. 58. The city of Cyrene near the coast of the Cyrenaica was a Greek colony from Thera, now Santorin, a volcanic island in the Aegean, and one of the Cyclades. The Leptis which he mentions is the Leptis Magna.—'Philaenon arae:' the place was on the shore of the Great Syrtis (c. 79); and the words of Sallust may have this meaning, but the expression is careless. We must read the text thus—'and after it (Cyrene) the two Syrtes with Leptis between them, and then ('deinde' which refers to 'prima') the altars of the Philaeni.'—'aliae Punicae:' west of Leptis Major and in the territory of Carthage. But it is probable that all the trading towns on the coast to the straits of Gibraltar and beyond them on the African and Spanish coasts were Phoenician settlements.

ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque eas Leptis, deinde Philaenon arae, quem locum Aegyptum vorsus finem imperi habuere Carthaginienses, post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent; proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt. Super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos Aethiopas esse, dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissume habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat; Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani, itemque nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

20. Postquam diviso regno legati Africa discessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum

The Romans abbreviated the adjective 'Phoenicicus' into 'Punicus.'—'proxume Hispaniam:' 'proxumi Hispania,' Kritz, Jacobs.

exusta solis] It was a common notion that the southern part of Africa was not habitable for the heat. Yet Herodotus (iv. 42) could not have believed that, for he tells a story of the Phoenicians sailing round the continent, from the Red Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar, in the reign of Nechos, between the years B.C. 610 and 594.

quos novissume] The territory which the Carthaginians had possessed before and at the time of their final defeat in the third Punic war; for the territory which they had at the beginning of the third Punic war was less than they had possessed before the wars with the Romans. This territory was the Roman province of Africa at the time when Sallust was writing.—'Mulucham:' the Mulucha or Molochath, or Maloua (Ptolemy, iv. 1. 7), is now named Mulvia, or Mlouia (Pellissier, Mémoires, &c. sur l'Algérie, vi. p. 309). But Ptolemy (iv. 1. 7) has also a river Molochath, which is immediately west of his Maloua. The Mlouia is a large river which rises a long way inland, and has a north course to the Mediterranean, which it enters nearly opposite to the bay of Almeria in Spain. Here it is the western boundary of Jugurtha's kingdom (see c. 92); and it was afterwards the boundary between the Roman Mauritania Tingitana, and Mauritania Caesariensis.—'praeter nomen cetera ignarus:' except the name in all other matters unacquainted with.

20. *discessere*] Kritz and Jacobs have 'decessere.' 'Decedere' is said of a Roman governor, for instance, who quits his province and makes way for his 'successor.' Here, says Cort, the old editions and most of the MSS. have 'discessere,' the true word, 'after the legati left Africa.'

contra timorem animi] 'After his alarm,' that is, instead or in place of what he feared, he got what he wished.

sese videt, certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso finis ejus cum magna manu invadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit, deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convortit existumans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit; qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta rettulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit quam bellum sumere, quia temptatum antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur, quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non ut antea cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere, suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere.

21. Adherbal ubi intellegit eo processum uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum utriusque exercitus consedit, et quia die extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam-

opportunus injuriae] A man whose weakness of character exposed him to wrong and invited it. Comp. Livy 28, c. 19. In c. 94 he speaks of a place as 'machinationibus locus importunus,' a place which did not present opportunities for assault.

convortit] He turned to, that is, returned. Comp. c. 101, 'ad pedites convortit.'

secus cesserat] 'had turned out otherwise,' that is, 'unfavourably.' Comp. c. 25, 'quod ubi secus procedit.'—'hostibus terrorem:' 'terrorem hostibus,' Cort.

21. *Cirtam oppidum*] Cirta is now Constantina in Algeria, but it is more than forty miles from the sea, direct distance.—'die:' this is another form of the genitive. As to 'extremum' see c. 5.

obscuro etiamtum lumine] 'The light being still obscure.' He means

tum lumine milites Jugurthini signo dato castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentis moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur, maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adulescentes in Africam legantur qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient: "velle et censere eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis jure potius quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum esse."

22. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: "sibi neque majus quicquam neque carius auctoritate senati esse; ab adulescentia ita se enisum ut ab optumo quoque probaretur; virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni summo viro placuisse; ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non

that it was not yet day-break.—'togatorum:' Roman citizens only are properly called 'togati,' and all the Italians were Romans when Sallust wrote this. But he means also Italians generally (c. 26).

vineis] 'Vineae,' are wooden sheds with a sloping roof. They were used to protect the soldiers when they approached the wall of a town to batter it, or to fill up the ditch, or to undermine it, or to raise an 'agger' or mound of earth.—'tempus legatorum:' 'the time of the commissioners' return.'

senatus populique] The Senate alone gave these men their authority, but the message which the men had to deliver was in the name of the Senate and the Roman people, which was the complete official style, and probably meant more at any earlier period than it did now. But the true reading may be 'senatus populi Romani.'

velle et censere] 'Velle' applies to the Populus Romanus, and 'censere' to the Senate.—'de controversiis—disceptare:' they should settle their disputes by legal forms. The word also signifies to decide as a judge; as 'vobis disceptantibus,' addressed to the 'judices' by Cicero (Verr. ii. 3, c. 72).

22. *rumor clemens*] 'the report was mild,' below the truth of the facts.—'malitia' is opposed to 'virtute,' and we may translate the passage 'by his virtues, not by his vices.'

penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse; ceterum quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare; Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri ejus obviam isse; populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit; postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

23. Jugurtha ubi eos Africa discessisse ratus est,

neque pro bono] 'nor well.' He means by 'pro bono facturum,' 'to do that which may be considered to be good.' 'Recte,' says Jacobs, expresses the integrity of the purpose. Kritz compares Caesar, B. G. v. 7, "nihil hunc se absente pro sano facturum;" but 'pro sano' means like 'a sound-minded man.'

jure gentium] 'The established usage among nations,' or self-defence. This is all that 'jus gentium' means here.—'copia non fuit:' they had not the opportunity of speaking to Adherbal. He was in Cirta, and we must suppose that Jugurtha would not let them enter the town.

23. *discessisse*] The reading of some MSS. The editors prefer 'decessisse.—'propter loci naturam:' he could not take Cirta by assault 'on account of the nature of the ground,' and accordingly Jugurtha blockaded the town. He made a ditch and vallum round it as Caesar did at Alesia. The greater part of Cirta, says Shaw (p. 60), was "built upon a peninsula promontory inaccessible on all sides except towards the south west, where the principal gate of the city was." The peninsula of Cirta is surrounded on the south, east, and north by the deep ravine in which the Rummel, the ancient Ampsagas, flows. There is a description of the present appearance of Constantina in Blakesley's Algeria (p. 274). The sides of the ravine are steep and high, and the precipices nearly touch one another. In Shaw's time there was on the south east side of the town a bridge over the ravine. The bridge was Roman. "Below the bridge the Rummel turns to the northward, where it runs near a quarter of a mile through a rocky subterraneous passage, designedly laid open in several places for the greater convenience of drawing up the water and cleansing the channel" (Shaw). Blakesley describes the precipitous sides of the Rummel as "here and there actually connected half way down by a natural bridge two hundred feet below which the river rushes." He also (p. 292) says "the third natural arch is of much greater extent than the other two, but Shaw's description of it is much exaggerated. It is in fact the top of a tunnel of the length (as I should guess) of something less than a hundred yards, with gaps here and there from the effects of weather."

Bochart, quoted by Shaw, explains the name Cirta by the Punic Cartha, a city. This word existed in Asia in the same sense. There was Pasagarda, as the name is correctly written, where the termination 'garda' is compared with the Persian 'gherd.' There was the city of 'Tigranocerta,' and others which contained the same element, 'cirt,' 'gard,' 'gerd,' which is the same as the word 'yard,' in the sense of enclosure, and 'garden,' 'garten,' 'court,' and 'hortus.' Cirta was once the capital of Syphax, and then of Masinissa. Micipsa settled some Greeks in it.

neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turris exstruit easque praesidiis firmat, praeterea dies noctisque aut per vim aut dolis temptare, defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem erigere, prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxili spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex iis qui una Cirtam profugerant duos maxume impigros delegit; eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Numidae paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit:

24. "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit, quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos neque deos immortalis in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam om-

(Strabo, p. 832.) It subsequently took the name of Colonia Sittianorum from the Italian adventurer P. Sittius, who having assisted C. Caesar in the African war against Scipio and Juba, received from Caesar part of Numidia, and distributed the land among his men. Cirta, we may assume, was included in Caesar's grant. The modern name Constantina was given to Cirta in honour of the emperor Constantinus by whom it was restored and adorned (Aurel. Victor, de Caesar., c. 40).

Sallust speaks of Jugurtha blockading Cirta after Roman fashion with a ditch and vallum. Jugurtha would have seen in Spain the Roman way of besieging cities and their general system of warfare; but the ditch and vallum would have been quite useless on the river side of Cirta, and I infer that Jugurtha did not waste his time in that way. The narrative of the siege of Cirta has no life or reality in it, because the writer probably knew nothing about the siege. If the reader will compare it with one of Caesar's blockades he will see the difference between the narrative of a man who saw what he describes, and the narrative of a man who only makes a book. See how he winds up this sentence, 'Jugurtha ubi;' not knowing what to say and having nothing exact to say he concludes 'prorsus intentus cuncta parare,' which is the flatness of total despair. He rounds his sentence with words without a meaning.—'erigere:' 'arrigere.' some MSS. and Kritz and Jacobs.

penuria—trahi] 'that for want of provisions the war could not be prolonged.'—'proxumum mare:' 'the nearest part of the sea,' above forty miles off.

sententia haec fuit] Sallust does not profess to do more than to tell us the purport of the letter. We do not know where he found the letter, nor do we know if Adherbal really sent a letter.

nia malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque mihi Micipsae patris mei beneficia neque vostra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame acrius urguear incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea; et jam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse, nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam vostram et regnum meum sperare. Utrum gravius existumet nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum, dein patrio regno me expulit; quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vostrum regnum armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; légatorum verba quanti fecerit pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vostra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem et haec quae scribo, et illa quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius quam miseria

24. *quintum jam mensem*] Here we have indirectly a statement that the siege had already lasted more than four months, which shows that the town was not very ill-supplied with provisions. We do not know how the besieged got water. The cisterns which Shaw describes are Roman and were supplied by an aqueduct, part of which remained at the time of his visit to Constantina. Blakesley speaks of the ancient cisterns being discovered by the French when they were making excavations for their arsenal and barracks (p. 277). These cisterns may be older than the Roman time and have been well filled when this siege of Cirta began.

scribere dehortatur] This infinitive is one of Sallust's usual forms of expression.—'parum fidei miseris:' 'that little credit is given to the wretched;' that little attention is paid to them.—'nisi tamen:' some critics say that 'nisi' is used for 'sed;' but this is a bad explanation. 'Nisi' after a negative sentence introduces an exception; he has said that he is discouraged from writing more, 'except however that I see that Jugurtha is aiming at something higher than I am,' &c.

Utrum gravius] 'Which of the two he thinks to be the heavier to endure,' that is, not to have your friendship or not to have my kingdom. Cort explains it so, and I think that he is right. In other words Adherbal means that Jugurtha cares less for the friendship of Rome than for the possession of Adherbal's kingdom.

quae sane fuerint] 'I will admit that these may be considered wrongs done to me only, and that they do not concern you at all.'—'vostrum regnum:' he calls that a Roman kingdom, which the Roman commissioners had assigned to him (c. 16).

vellem—forent] 'I wish my complaints had been false (vana), rather than that my wretchedness should give credibility to what I say (verbis).'. 'Fidem facere' means 'to give credibility to a thing,' 'to be the evidence for it,' as in Caesar, B. G. iv. 11. Allen quotes Cicero (Top. 2), "Licet definire argumentum, rationem quae rei dubiae faciat fidem."

mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus sum ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vostrum est, uti lubet, consulite; me ex manibus impiis eripite per majestatem imperi, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae."

25. His litteris recitatis fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset. Sed ab isdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne [tale] decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus usi; in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tum in senatu princeps. Hi, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere, dein brevi

Jugurthae—essem] 'Born to be the manifest evidence of the crimes of Jugurtha.'

non jam] 'Jam' is placed emphatically. 'It is not death nor yet poverty.' Allen finds a difficulty here. He does not understand what Adherbal means when he says that it is not death that he deprecates, for he supposes that when a man does not deprecate death, he is ready to die. And he proposes 'sortem' for 'mortem.' But it is the tyranny of his enemy and the tortures which might be inflicted on him that Adherbal deprecates. He is ready to die, but not ready to see Jugurtha his master and to suffer torture from him.—'Regno—consulite:' 'regno' the dative in this usual formula, 'look after, defend the kingdom of Numidia.'—'si ulla—remanet:' 'if any remembrance, however small, remains with you.' Our word 'remains' is Latin, but the 're' has no particular meaning with us, as we have not the simple verb 'mains.' 'Remanet' is a result of something that has gone before. Cort omits 'remanet,' and Allen omits both 'remanet' and 'avi mei.'

25. *ab iisdem illis*] See c. 15. 'Fautores legatorum' &c.—'enisum:' in a passive sense.—'ne [tale]:' such a decree as the circumstances called for. For this is implied in the words 'de Jugurtha—consuleretur.' But Cort omits 'tale.'

Legantur—in Africam] 'Are sent as legati to Africa.'—'Scaurus:' see c. 15.—'amplis honoribus usi:' 'who had filled the highest offices.' Cort omits 'usi.' See Cat. c. 49.—'res in invidia:' 'because the matter was a cause of popular discontent.'—'Uticam:' an old Punic town, older, it is said, than Carthage. Utica was about twenty-seven Roman miles N.N.W. of Carthage, on the coast near the western outlet of the river Bagradas (Mejerdah) and within the Roman province of Africa. The site is now Booshatter, a few miles from the sea, for the alluvium of the Bagradas has formed a plain between the old site of Utica and the sea (Shaw, p, 79).

Uticam appulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, quam ocissume ad provinciam accedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo commotus metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senatus, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit neque quod intenderat efficere potest ut prius quam legatos conveniret Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando Scaurum, quem plurumum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis graves minae nuntiabantur, quod [ab] oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere.

26. Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditione facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque et oppidum Jugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur, tamen quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, interficit.

divorsus agitabatur] 'He was distracted by opposing thoughts.' Cort compares Livy 26, c. 5, "Hannibalem diversum . . . trahebant curae."—'diducta manu:' 'the force of the enemy being divided' in order to resist the attack which Jugurtha was making on all parts of the town.

efficere—ut—potiretur] 'Succeed in getting hold of Adherbal,' which explains 'quod intenderat,' 'which had been his design.'—'frustra discessere:' 'went away without accomplishing their purpose.'—'[ab] oppugnatione non desisteret:' Cort omits 'ab;' and 'ab' is not necessary.

26. *Italici*] The Italians, the 'togati' (c. 21).—'deditione facta:' 'if they surrendered.'

omnia potiora fide] 'Any thing better than to trust to Jugurtha.' Compare 'omnia pati,' c. 20. Cirta was taken B.C. 112. (Clinton. See Kritz, p. 99.)—'negotiatores:' see Cat. c. 40, note.

27. Quod postquam Romae cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari coepta, iidem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, id agi ut per paucos factiosos Jugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret; tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit; deinde exercitus qui in Africam portaretur scribitur; stipendium aliaque quae bello usui forent decernuntur.

28. At Jugurtha contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe

27. *ministri regis interpellando*] 'The same agents of Jugurtha by interrupting the discussions;' in whatever way they did it, whether by formal objections, or adjournment, and in any other way. They tried by 'protraction (trahendo tempus) to soften the atrocity of the act.' They knew that people don't look on a thing in the same way when it is new and when it is stale.

C. Memmius] He was now elected ('designatus') tr. pl., and held his office in the next year. The tribune did what the press would do now. He used his privilege of addressing a public meeting, and told them what the knavish part of the aristocracy were intending to do.—'id agi—condonaretur:' a common formula,—'the object was to secure Jugurtha against punishment for his crime.' 'Jugurthae' is the dative. See Cat. c. 52, 'condonabam.'—'dilapsa foret:' 'dilapsa erat,' Cort; and this is Latin, and a common use of the indicative in such a case.

lege Sempronia] A Lex proposed by C. Sempronius Gracchus, B.C. 123, by which it was enacted that the Senate before the election of the consuls for the following year should determine what provinces they should have. The word 'provintia,' as it is properly written ('providentia'), means the limits for each consul's exercise of his power. In this case one consul was to stay in Italy. He calls one of the consuls L. Bestia Calpurnius, contrary to the usual practice, which places the gentile name (Calpurnius) before the family name (Bestia). Bestia was tr. pl. in B.C. 121, in which year he procured the restoration of P. Popillius, who had been driven out of Rome by C. Gracchus' violence. P. Scipio Nasica was the son of the man who headed the riot in which Ti. Gracchus was killed.

obvenit] 'Fell to.' The consuls determined by lot which province each should have, or settled it some way between themselves. —'scribitur:' see Cat. c. 32, note.

28. *contra spem—accepto*] 'Having received news from Rome different from what he had expected.'—'quippe cui—haeserat:' 'as it had been firmly fixed in his mind.'

cui Romae omnia venum ire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duos familiaris ad senatum legatos mittit, hisque ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecipit omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur. Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, placeretne legatos Jugurthae recipi moenibus; iique decrevere, nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, ut in diebus proxumis decem Italia decederent. Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nuntiari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat; in quis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. Igitur Calpur-

Jacobs compares 'quippe cui . . . erant,' Cat. c. 48.

adventabant] 'As they were approaching Rome.'—'consultus—placeretne:' 'the Senate was asked if it was their pleasure.' Comp. Cat. c. 50, 'quid de his fieri placeat.'—'decederent:' there is also the reading 'discederent,' and it may be the right word.

legat sibi homines] 'Takes as his legati.'—'quae deliquisset:' 'his faults,' 'his misdeeds.' The Romans use the relative with this tense and mood to express a thing generally, so in Caesar 'quae imperasset' and 'imperata' are used indifferently.—'habitu:' 'his having,' 'his haviour.' The 'habitus' of the body sometimes means health, 'optimo habitu' (Cicero, pro Caelio, c. 24). The 'habitus' of Scaurus is his moral character.

Nam in consule] This is to be connected with what he has said of Bestia: 'Interim Calpurnius,' &c. We should rather say 'Now our consul had many good qualities, but (quas omnis) avarice stood in the way of all.'

Siciliam] The usual form would be 'in Siciliam,' when the name of a country is used. The troops marched through Italy to Rhegium (Reggio) on the straits, and crossing the straits they marched, as we may assume, to the west end of Sicily, probably to Lilybaeum, whence the passage to Africa is short. The ships were in Sicily it seems, and they sent the soldiers to the ships instead of sending for the ships to carry the soldiers from Italy. The stores and supplies, there is little doubt, were in Sicily, and the ships were there to take them in. Sallust does not say where Bestia and his men landed. 'He entered Numidia with activity, and in his campaign took many men and some cities by fighting;' a way of writing which tells us nothing at all, and one of the signs of a history-maker's hand.

nius initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortalis et urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

29. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare bellique quod administrabat asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia facile convorsus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus, qui tametsi a principio plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis acerrume regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primo tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum; postea vero quam participem negoti Scaurum accepit, in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum iis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea fidei caussa mittitur a

29. *temptare*] That is, 'Calpurnium.'—'bellique—ostendere:' 'began to show the consul the difficulty of the war, which he (the consul) was conducting.'—'aeger avaritia:' 'the mind of the man who had the disease of avarice was easily changed.'

consiliorum] 'Of the designs of Calpurnius.' Scaurus had at first opposed the king, though most of his party had been corrupted, but he was finally overpowered by the magnitude of the sum which was offered. Jugurtha had at last bid up to his price; for with most men honesty is only a matter of money. Some will not sell themselves cheap. A learned criminal jurist (Feuerbach) maintains that all men have their price, and that they may commit any crime, if the thing is offered which they most covet. But we may hope and believe that this is not quite true.

belli—redimebat] 'Jugurtha at first began only to treat about purchasing a truce.'

fidei caussa] To show that the consul was sincere, and to give Jugurtha confidence: for Sextius put himself into the king's hands. The pretext for sending Sextius was the receipt of some corn, the duty of providing which Calpurnius had imposed on his legate, 'since there was an armistice (induciae agitabantur) during the time which elapsed before the surrender of Jugurtha (deditionis mora).'

Shaw (p. 92) supposes Vaga or Vacca to be Beja, or Bay-yah, or Badja, a town about fifty miles south west of Utica, and west of the Bagradas. The modern town is on the slope of a hill, and well supplied with water. It is still a great corn market. A Roman inscription found on the spot and copied incompletely by Shaw, as Pellissier says (Description de la Régence de Tunis, p. 230), does not contain the name of the place. Pellissier says that the distance which Sallust gives between Utica and this locality is in harmony with this hypothesis (of the site of Badja); besides the Latin historian gives a description of a plateau situated a mile from Vacca, which description enables us to recognize the approach to Badja so plainly on arriving there by Medjez-el-Bab, that it is impossible to be mistaken. See c. 47.

On the little river which runs near

consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae Vagam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditionis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit, ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui, atque ut in deditionem acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit; dein postero die, quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

30. Postquam res in Africa gestas quoque modo actae forent fama divolgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia, patres [solliciti erant;] probarentne tantum flagi-

Badja there are the piles of a Roman bridge.

in castra] To the camp of Calpurnius; but we are not told where the camp was.—'praesenti consilio:' in the presence of Calpurnius' consilium; which consisted of legati, tribuni militum, and sometimes the centurions of the first class, in Caesar's time. See c. 62, 'more majorum ex consili decreto.'—'de invidia:' 'he said a little on the bad repute into which his acts had brought him.' With 'atque ut' we must supply the proper word out of 'locutus.'—'quasi per saturam:' the opinions of the members of the council of war were not asked severally, but the question was proposed 'as it were in the lump' (quasi per saturam). The question was, 'Shall we accept Jugurtha's terms or not?' A 'satura' ('lanx') is a dish of various kinds of things. A 'lex satura' is a Lex full of all kinds of rules of law, unconnected, such as some of our Acts of Parliament used to be.

pro consilio] 'Before, or in presence of the consilium.' See 'pro contione,' c. 8.—'quaestori:' the quaestor looked after the accounts, and it was his duty to place this money in the Roman aerarium. But the money which was put to the credit of the treasury was not much. Bestia and other knaves, as Sallust implies, got the greater part.—'ad magistratus rogandos:' to be present at the comitia for the election of Magistratus for the next year. The word 'rogare' is used, because the proceeding was a 'rogatio,' a proposal made to the people, if they would have as Magistratus such and such men.

30. *res—divolgavit*] He says 'res gestas . . . divolgavit,' and then 'quoque modo actae (res) forent,' which clause is in fact equivalent to another accusative, just as 'imperata' is equivalent to 'quae imperasset,' c. 28, note.

invidia] This word has a double aspect. It refers both to the person who is the object of the 'invidia,' and to the person in whose mind is the feeling which is called 'invidia.' We cannot translate this expression literally: it means 'that the acts of

tium an decretum consulis subvorterent parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingeni et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus inter dubitationem et moras senatus contionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere, ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent, multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmi facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere, ac potissumum ea dicam quae in contione post reditum Bestiae hujuscemodi verbis disseruit:

31. "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium rei publicae omnia superet, opes factionis, vostra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis viginti quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae

the consul were greatly blamed by the common sort.' — '[solliciti erant]:' Cort omits these words, and they are perhaps not genuine. He writes 'invidia: patres probarentne.' — 'probarentne:' whether the 'senate would approve,' for that is the meaning of 'patres.'

a vero—impediebat] Kritz quotes Cicero, pro Murena, c. 19, "a delectatione omni negotiis impedimur."

Memmi facundia] Cicero in his remarks on the Roman orators, calls C. and L. Memmii 'oratores mediocres' (Brutus, c. 36). But they were on the popular side, and Cicero was not at the time when he wrote his Brutus. C. Memmius was praetor B.C. 104. In B.C. 100 he was a candidate for the consulship, and he was murdered in a riot.

This speech of Memmius was delivered in the latter part of B.C. 111. Sallust says 'unam . . . perscribere,' and this means 'to copy it out,' as we know (Cic. ad Div. v. 4). So a Senatusconsultum, when written out or drawn up, was 'perscriptum' (Cicero, in Cat. iii. 6). Then he says 'hujuscemodi verbis,' in such terms as these. We have probably not all the words of Memmius, but some of them.

Cort omits the word 'Romae;' and also 'ejus' and 'ea dicam.'

31. *dehortantur a vobis*] 'Discourage me from addressing you.' But he adds 'ni . . . superet;' and he means, 'there are many reasons why I should not address you, if my zeal for the state did not overpower every thing.' The things which 'dehortantur' are 'opes factionis,' &c. Cort has 'multa dehortantur a vobis,' and he thinks that 'multa a vobis' must be connected in the sense of 'a parte vestrum,' 'on your side;' but the enumeration which follows 'opes factionis,' &c., is against this interpretation.

his annis viginti] 'Within the last twenty years' since the death of the popular leader, Ti. Gracchus, in

paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vostri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiis inimicis exsurgitis, atque etiamnunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar; verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vostra manu situm est, Quirites. Neque ego [vos] hortor, quod saepe majores vostri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est; necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt; post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvi caedem item vostri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. Utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere;

B.C. 133, and of his brother Caius, in B.C. 121. He uses round numbers. Cort has 'his annis quindecim.'—'obnoxiis inimicis:' 'when your enemies are guilty and in your power.'

haec talia] 'Your state or condition.'—'ire . . . subigit.' Comp. Cat. 10, 'fieri subegit.'

libertatem — experiar] 'I will make trial of,' 'I will try whether I have it or not.'—'ob rem:' this is explained by 'frustra,' to which it is opposed. It therefore means 'with any result' or profit. See Terence, Phormio iii. 2. 40, 'Minume, dum ob rem.'

secessione] This is explained in this chapter. — 'suomet — more:' 'they must unavoidably perish through their own behaviour;' but the words 'necesse est' might be better omitted, as Cort suggests; and Allen has omitted them.

regnum parare] This was the cry that was raised against him, that he was aiming at royal power. Cicero in his old age has repeated this story, which is probably a great falsehood (De Am. c. 12). — 'quaestiones:' 'criminal proceedings.' 'Quaestio' sometimes means an extraordinary inquiry by a special commission, but it was used in Sallust's time to mean trials under some of the various Leges, which related to criminal matters.—'M. Fulvi:' M. Fulvius was consul in B.C. 125, in which year he proposed a Lex for giving the 'civitas' or Roman citizenship to the Italian Socii. He supported the tribune C. Gracchus, and perished with him in the disturbances of B.C. 121. See c. 16.

lex—lubido] 'Lex,' which properly means 'a law,' is here opposed to 'lubido,' 'pleasure,' 'will,' and so 'lex' must mean 'legal measures,' 'legal proceedings.' We should say in another form, 'the executions in both cases did not end when the demands of justice or the law were satisfied, but only when the nobility were satisfied and thought they had done enough.' Jacobs, if I understand him, means that the people passed no 'lex' to stop the violent measures of the aristocracy, but that is not the meaning.

sane fuerit] 'But be it so, if you

quicquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et summam gloriam et maxumas divitias esse; tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere, itaque postremo leges, majestas vostra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos qui ea fecere pudet aut poenitet, sed incedunt per ora vostra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes, proinde quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt; vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rem publicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissumi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi iidemque superbissumi, quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessume fecit, tam maxume tutus est; metum a

like, that the restitution of their rights to the Plebs was an attempt to seize royal power: whatever punishment cannot be inflicted without shedding the blood of citizens, let that be considered to have been done legally.' 'Ulcisci' and 'nequitur' are passive forms.

aerarium] The Roman treasury. See Cat. c. 52, 'in furibus aerarii.'—'vectigal pendere:' this is a rhetorical turn. 'Vectigal' was the taxes paid to the Roman people. He means that the nobles got money from kings and free states who were in alliance with Rome.—'parum habuere:' 'they were not satisfied,' they did not think it enough. As in Vell. ii. 76, quoted by Cort, and Livy 42, c. 3, quoted by Allen, "Templum augustissimum . . . violare parum habuisse, nisi" &c.—'majestas:' 'majestas' is the 'integrity, the entirety of the Roman state.' To impair this 'majestas' was 'minuere,' and it was 'imminuta' by any act of treachery to the state. Here it is 'tradita,' 'given up.'

incedunt per ora] 'They walk in stately manner before your faces;' as in Livy ii. 38, 'traductos per ora hominum:' and Horace, Sat. ii. 1, v. 65. Cort has 'magnifice.'—'pars:' this word must be supplied before 'sacerdotia.'—'proinde quasi:' 'just as if what they possess is an honour, and not a stolen thing.' Some MSS. have 'proinde,' probably the true form. But the editors keep 'perinde.'

honesta atque inhonesta] See Cat. c. 30, note.—'pro munimento habent:' 'have or consider as a wall of defence.' Jacobs compares Cat. c. 58, 'audacia pro muro habetur.'

quam — pessume — tam maxume] 'Just in proportion as each has done worst, he is most safe.' Cort quotes several examples of a like form. Allen has omitted 'maxume,' and says that Sallust never wrote 'max-

scelere suo ad ignaviam vostram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit. Sed haec inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quodsi tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vostra penes optumos, non audacissumos forent. Majores vostri parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere, vos pro libertate quam ab illis accepistis non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non paravisse. [Dicet aliquis]: Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rem publicam, non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse

ume,' but left it to be supplied from 'pessume;' and he quotes various examples to show that 'maxume' could be omitted.—'metum—transtulere:' 'the fear which their own crimes ought to cause to them, they have transferred to your cowardice,' to you who are cowards.

beneficia vostra] The offices which your votes confer; consulships and others. Cicero says, pro Murena, c. 1, "ut ejusdem hominis voce et declaratus consul et defensus beneficium populi Romani . . . tueatur;" where 'beneficium' is the consulship.

constituendae gratia] One MSS., Harl. 11, omits 'gratia,' and Allen has omitted it. Tacitus certainly wrote so sometimes as 'tuendae libertatis,' Ann. iii. 27, and ii. 59.

bis Aventinum] The first 'secessio' was B.C. 494. Sallust (Hist. Frag. i. 11, ed. Kritz), "plebes . . . armata montem sacrum atque Aventinum insedit, tumque tribunos plebis et alia sibi jura paravit." By this secession the Plebes gained the establishment of the Tribuni plebis, magistrates who were to protect the interests of the Plebes. The second 'secessio' was in B.C. 449, and for the purpose of resisting the Decemviri. See Cat. c. 33.—'atque eo vehementius:' 'atque' so placed is more emphatic than 'et.' It means, as Kritz says, 'et quidem eo,' &c. Cort has 'quod magis.'

Vindicandum in eos] 'You must punish those.' See Cat. c. 9.—'deditícius est:' 'if he has really surrendered.' 'Dediticii' were those who by 'deditio' put themselves in the power of the Romans. They are defined to be those who have taken up arms against the Romans, and being vanquished, have surrendered (Gaius i. 14; Livy vii. 31).—'ad rem publicam:' there is also the reading 'in rem publicam,' which is generally adopted. I have followed Allen in writing 'ad.'—'illa quam haec:' those times of their power than these when you have the opportunity of punishing them.—'imperatores — gentium:' this was a usual way of speaking. The Roman people were named 'rerum domini,' 'masters of the world.' Tiberius Gracchus (Plut., Ti. Gracch. c. 9) said that the Roman common sort 'die with the title of lords of the earth without possessing a single clod to call their own.'—'satis habebatis:' 'you were satisfied with keeping your lives.' The expression may be compared with 'parum habere.' Allen refers to Caesar's use of 'satis habebat . . . prohibere,' B. G. i. 15.

quam illis accidisse indignum est, verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae; qui si dediticius est, profecto jussis vostris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, ad rem publicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint; nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa quam haec tempora magis placent, quum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant, vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vostrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tametsi virum flagitiosissumum existumo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur; et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, quum intellegetis aut serviundum esse aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere; postremo sociis vostris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque [vos] ne tantum scelus impuni-

virum — impune injuriam] 'To have received a wrong without avenging it.' One would suppose that to do a wrong would be worse still. He says shortly afterwards 'impune male fecisse,' 'to have done wrong without being punished for it,' as Caesar says (B. G. i. 15), 'impune injuriam tulisse.'

The texts have now 'viro flagitiosissumum,' all that I know, except Allen's. He writes 'virum injuriam flagitiosissimum . . . impune accepisse.' There is very little authority for 'viro.' Allen compares c. 110, 'nam . . . regem,' &c.

quantum importunitatis] 'Such is their shamelessness,' as Kritz translates it.—'nisi deinde:' 'unless for the future.' He says, 'both for them it is not enough to have done wrong,' for they will go on doing it, 'and to you there will result' ('remanebit'); for 're' expresses a consequence that will follow.—'per manus:' 'by force.'

in tam divorsis] 'When dispositions are so opposite.' See Cat. ii. 1, note on 'divorsus;' and Cat. ii. 1, 'in magna copia.'

tum omittatis. Non peculatus aerari factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae, quae quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vostrum; domi militiaeque res publica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis qui ea fecere obedientes vivamus? Nam impune quae lubet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor ut malitis civis vostros perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in re publica multo praestat benefici quam malefici immemorem esse; bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi neglegas, at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxili egeas."

32. Haec atque alia hujuscemodi saepe dicundo Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius qui tum praetor

peculatus] This was the offence of misappropriating public money. Two Leges about 'peculatus' are mentioned, but both of them are of a date later than the time of which Sallust is writing. The old trials for 'peculatus' were held before the Populus or the Senate. Some MSS. omit 'aerarii;' and the word 'peculatus' is generally used absolutely. Cort quotes Tacit. Ann. xiii. 43, "publicae pecuniae peculatum detulere."—'per vim—pecuniae:' he means the offence of 'repetundae pecuniae,' with which a governor was chargeable who got money from the provincials by unlawful means.

quaesita erunt] 'Unless they shall be made the subject of a quaestio.'—'Nam—id est regem esse:' this is not to be taken as a definition of kingly power, but as an answer to those who accused the Gracchi of aiming at kingly power. This, he says, is real kingly power, to do as you like with impunity; and this is what the nobles were doing.

Neque—hortor ut] He has not expressed his meaning clearly. He seems to mean, 'I am not urging you to punish with the design that you should be more pleased to find that your citizens (the nobles) have done wrong than right, but my motive is to prevent you from ruining the good by overlooking the crimes of the bad.'

benefici quam malefici] 'In a state it is much better to forget a man's good services than to forget (not to punish) his wrongs to the state.' The remark is true. A state should punish those who have ill managed public affairs. He who has done the state service has a reward, which cannot be taken from him. Sallust adds, 'if there were no wrongs done to the state, you would not often want help.' If the bad are severely punished, you will not often want the help of the good.

32. *populo persuadet*] That is, he carried a Rogatio, to the effect that the praetor, L. Cassius, should be sent to Jugurtha. He says afterwards, 'At Cassius perlata rogatione.' Cassius afterwards lost his life in Gallia, in a battle with the Helvetii (Caesar, B. G. i. 7).—'fide publica:' see Cat. c. 47.—'pecuniae captae:' 'capere pecuniam'

erat ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque interposita fide publica Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris [sui] pluruma et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. Fuere qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthae traderent; alii perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant; tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat. At Cassius perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate ad Jugurtham proficiscitur, eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam [ejus] experiri mallet. Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat; talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

33. Igitur Jugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxume miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat quae supra diximus, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnis

is used to express money got by unlawful means, and generally perhaps by some man who is employed in the public service. Cicero (Verr. ii. 1, c. 4) writes, 'contra leges pecuniam accepisse;' and (Verr. ii. 3, c. 30) "Quid est aliud capere et conciliare pecunias?" 'Arcessebant' is used with a genitive like 'accusare' (Liv. 38, c. 51), 'they were accusing of.'

in animos—invaserat] The 'in' is omitted in many editions, but Cort retains it on good authority.

ex conscientia] Jacobs says that in Sallust 'conscientia,' even when it stands alone, has always the meaning of 'a bad conscience.'—'quoniam se:' 'quo se,' Cort, who says that 'quo' here means the same as 'quia,' 'quoniam.' Cort also has 'dedidisset,' though most of the MSS. have 'dedisset,' and Cort has 'se dederant,' c. 75.

33. *contra decus regium*] The critics quote the Alexandrine War, c. 67, where Deiotarus appears before Caesar, "depositis regiis insignibus —etiam reorum habitu." 'Cultu' means 'dress' here. 'Cultus' is 'dress,' 'house,' and so on. See Cat. c. 48.—'tametsi:' this word is generally followed by 'tamen' in that part of the sentence which corresponds to the first part. 'Though he possessed great resolution, still he engages C. Baebius by a bribe' to help him; and he was induced to do this 'because he was encouraged by all those,' &c. Cort omits 'ea' and 'quae supra diximus.'—'cujus impudentia—foret:' 'to avail himself of Baebius' impudence for protection against all proceedings legal and illegal.' This may be translated in many ways, but we must translate it so as to retain the meaning of the subjunctive.

munitus foret. At C. Memmius advocata contione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris [sui] aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati quam irae magis consulens, sedare motus et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha verba facit, Romae Numidiaeque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit; quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere; si verum aperiat, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum.

34. Deinde, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet, ac tametsi multitudo, quae in contione aderat, vehementer accensa terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex contione discedit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

de hoste] 'Punished as an enemy after the old fashion' ('more majorum'). See Cat. c. 52, note.—'dignitati—consulens:' 'having regard to what was just and proper rather than to the popular passion.' See Cat. c. 51, note on 'dignitas.'—'per sese inviolatam:' 'should not be broken so far as he could prevent it.'

producto Jugurtha] This was the term used when a tribune brought a man before a popular assembly to speak or to be questioned. Cicero, pro Sestio, c. 14, "consules—producti in circo Flaminio in contionem ab illa furia.'

tamen velle] That is 'populum velle,' in whose name Memmius is speaking (Jacobs).—'sed se:' 'sese,' Cort; and Allen, who also has 'aperiat,' omitting 'si verum.' He *also* omits 'sin' before 'reticeat.'

34. *quae—amat*] 'Ira' is the nominative to 'amat.' This use of the infinitive with 'amare' is peculiar. Jacobs compares a different use of 'amare' with an infinitive (Hor. Carm. i. 2, 50),

"Hic ames dici pater."

Compare 'quae . . . amant,' c. 41. Horace (Carm. iii. 16) has

"Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa,"

where 'amat' is used like φιλεῖ. Cort also quotes Horace, Sat. i. 10. 60,

"—— amet scripsisse ducentos
Ante cibum versus."

But none of these examples are like the text. Kritz says that the sense is 'quae ira fieri solent,' and no doubt it is. But I doubt if the text is right, and perhaps it ought to be 'quae ira fieri amant,' as Allen suggests.

35. Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos, qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Jugurthamque] ob scelera invidia cum metu urgueat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi moveri quam senescere omnia malebat; ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediebat, Bomilcari proxumo ac maxume fido sibi imperat, pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac maxume occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat. Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur, et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur; illum obtruncat, sed ipse deprehensus multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque quam ex jure gentium

35. *Erat ea*] 'Ea erat,' Cort.—'Gulussae:' see c. 5.—'Sp. Albibinus:' Spurius Postumius Albinus, and M. Minucius Rufus, as other authorities call him, were the consuls in this 'proxumus annus,' which was B.C. 110.—'invidia cum metu:' the meaning of these words seems to me doubtful. Jacobs says that "we must suppose the seat of the fear to be in the same people in whom the 'invidia' was, consequently in the Romans." This may be so. But 'invidia' may also refer to Jugurtha, and 'metus' too; 'since the consciousness that he was the object of dislike and fear was pressing hard on Jugurtha.' See Cat. c. 6.

moveri quam senescere] Cort has 'movere.' The consul 'would rather that every thing should be in activity than at rest.' The reader may put a meaning on this; but it is an idle phrase. Compare 'consenuerunt,' Cat. c. 20.—'conscientia:' see c. 32.—'insidiatores Massivae:' the dative depends on 'insidiatores.' Comp. Cat. 32, 'insidiae consuli.'

ex eo numero, qui] 'Of those who,' 'qui' referring to the notion of 'many' contained in 'numero.' 'Ex eo numero' means the same as 'ex eorum numero.'—'indicium profitetur:' 'he confesses all,' and tells all. See Cat. 48, 'indicium.'

Fit reus] 'He is charged with his crime,' that is, charged in due form.—'ex aequo bonoque:' 'rather ac-

Bomilcar, comes ejus qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum niti quam animum advortit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus [eodem] profectus est jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, "Urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit."

36. Interim Albinus renovato bello commeatum, stipendium aliaque, quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae caussas facere, polliceri deditionem ac deinde metum simulare, cedere instanti et paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare; ita

cording to the principles of equity and justice than consistently with the law of nations' ('jure gentium'). Cort suggests 'aequo bono,' but the Romans said both. 'Aequum bonumque' is sometimes opposed to the strict rule of law, 'summum jus,' Cicero, pro Caecina, c. 22.

Bomilcar had committed a murder, and Jugurtha too, and neither of them could fairly claim the protection of the 'jus gentium.' But Sallust's words mean that Bomilcar, the 'comes' of Jugurtha, was entitled to the same protection as his master, who had come to Rome under a promise of protection ('fide publica').

manifestus—sceleris] See Cat. 52, near the end, 'de manifestis rerum capitalium.'—'contra verum niti:' 'to struggle against the facts,' as we might say, by bribery and the help of his friends.

in priore actione] 'In the first part of the proceedings against him.' The first 'actio' was a preliminary investigation, in which the accusator required securities ('vades') for the defendant's appearance at the day of trial.

paucis diebus] 'After a few days.' This is the meaning of the ablative. He might have said 'paucis post diebus,' or 'paucis diebus post,' and this is also one of the readings.

36. *comitia, quod tempus*] He wished to finish the war and return to Rome for the elections of that year. 'Quod tempus' is a usual Latin construction, the relative being made to agree with the following noun 'tempus,' for the notion of time is contained in the word 'comitia.' — 'ludificare:' 'ludificari,' Kritz.

belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificare. Ac fuere qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consili regis existumarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis quam dolo crederent. Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romam decessit.

37. Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis continuare magistratum nitebantur, quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expedi-

ex tanta &c.] 'And they could not believe that after Albinus had used so much despatch (ex . . . properantia), the war was so easily protracted in consequence of Albinus' inactivity rather than his treachery.' The 'bellum tractum' refers to 'Jugurtha trahere.' We should say, it was hardly possible for the protracting of the war to be caused by inactivity, and not by treachery. Albinus had begun the campaign vigorously, and done nothing at all. At least Sallust tells us nothing.

Aulo] Some critics have supposed that this Aulus is the man who was consul B.C. 99. But this cannot be proved. Aulus was left 'pro praetore,' with full power to act in the absence of his brother, the imperator (c. 103). Caesar (B. G. i. 21) writes 'T. Labienum legatum pro praetore.' — 'decessit :' some MSS. have 'discessit,' which may be right.

37. *continuare magistratum*] 'To continue their office' on to the next year, by re-election of course. In the early times the tribunes were often re-elected ('reficiebantur'). A Plebiscitum of the year of the city 412, declared that no person should hold the same Magistratus within ten years; and this attempt of two of the tribunes was illegal. The tribunes by their 'intercessio' could stop all public proceedings, and so the consul Albinus, who came to preside at the elections, could not return to his province. No new consul could go to Africa, for none was elected in that year.

mense Januario] In January, B.C. 109.—'hieme aspera :' 'when the weather was severe,' or 'though it was a severe season.' This is a common use of the Latin ablative, as in Caesar, B. G. iv. 1, 'locis frigidissimis.' There are heavy rains in winter in this part of Africa, and frost and snow on the high lands of the interior. The site of Suthul is unknown. Orosius (v. 15) says that Aulus was defeated at Calama, now Guelma, which lies between Cirta (Constantina) and Hippo (Bona); "whence," says Pellissier, "M. Dureau de la Malle has justly concluded that the Suthul of the Numidians was afterwards the Calama of the Romans" (Mém. sur l'Algérie, p. 382). But the true conclusion is, that the places were different. Orosius has named a place which we know, and Sallust has named a place which we do not know. If Orosius

tionem evocat, magnisque itineribus hieme aspera pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat, nam circum murum situm in praerupti montis extremo planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat, tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus [ob thesauros oppidi potiundi], vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque quae incepto usui forent properare.

38. At Jugurtha cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati subdolus ejus augere amentiam, missitare supplicantis legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum temptabat; centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti

has named the right place, Sallust has named the wrong place, unless we can prove that Suthul changed its name to Calama; but we cannot prove that Suthul changed its name to Calama, unless we can first prove that Suthul and Calama were the same place. In other words, we must assume that Suthul and Calama are the same place, before we can prove that the name of Suthul was changed to Calama; and the difference of name proves that they are not the same place, for there is no other evidence in the case than the names.

opportunitate loci] 'The advantageous position' for defence.—'in —extremo:' 'on the edge of a steep mountain.' So he says c. 21, 'diei extremum.'—'hiemalibus:' 'hiemantibus,' Kritz.—'[ob thesauros oppidi potiundi]:' Cort has omitted these words, and it is doubtful if they are genuine.—'vineas agere:' see c. 21. —'aggerem jacere:' 'to raise embankments in order to get on the walls.' Towers were also placed on these earthworks, the nature of which may be easily understood by reading Caesar's campaigns, from which a student will see the difference between the writing of a man who has done what he describes, and the writing of a man who is speaking of things of which he knew nothing. (Caesar, B. G. ii. 30; vii. 17, &c., the siege of Avaricum, now Bourges.)

38. *vanitate*] 'The folly' or 'silliness.'—'missitare:' 'was constantly sending.' Livy (9, c. 45) has 'missitaverant.'

delicta] Jugurtha pretended to fly, that Albinus might follow him to what Sallust calls 'abditae regiones,' an unmeaning expression; and so, as the Legatus supposed, or as Jugurtha alleged, they would be able to come to terms without being suspected by the Roman Senate and people. Aulus expected to get money from the cunning African. Cort, finding no sense in the words 'ita delicta occultiora fore,' has placed them at the end of the next sentence after 'uti desererent.'

partim—alii] 'Some,' 'others.' So 'partim' is often used, and op-

desererent. Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, perculsi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare, trepidare omnibus locis; vis magna hostium, coelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps; postremo fugere an manere tutius foret in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paulo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem, et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam uti defenderet acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi

posed to 'alii.'—'locum:' 'their posts.'—'intempesta nocte:' see Cat. c. 27.—'periculum anceps:' 'on both sides,' both in the camp and outside, as Kritz explains it. But Jacobs thus,—the camp was surrounded, and so they had the enemy both in front and rear. See Cat. c. 29. Allen, following Cort, explains it thus,—danger from the enemy if they remained in the camp, and from the darkness, if they fled; and the words which precede and follow seem to confirm this explanation.

ex eo numero] See c. 35.—'Thracum:' one can understand Ligurians being in the army. These hardy active men from the hills above Genoa had been employed by the Carthaginians, and were now employed by the Romans. There might be Thracians too in the army, but it is doubtful.—'gregariis:' 'the Roman soldiers,' 'the legionarii.' The 'gregarius miles' is a soldier 'e grege,' one who has no rank, a simple soldier. See Cat. c. 37.—'centurio primi pili:' there were sixty centurions in a legion, and the legion at this time was distributed into three divisions, hastati, principes, and triarii. Each of these divisions contained ten manipuli and twenty centuriae, and each centuria had its centurio. Of these centuriones in each division of the legion, ten were 'priores' and ten were 'posteriores,' who were inferior in rank to the 'priores.' The lowest centurion in a legion, the sixtieth, was 'decimus hastatus posterior.' He might rise to the rank of 'decimus hastatus prior,' or to be the first centurion of the hastati. The centuriones of the principes were higher than the centuriones of the hastati. The lowest centurion of the principes was 'decimus princeps posterior;' the highest was 'primus princeps prior.' The centuriones of the triarii were higher than the centuriones of the principes. The lowest centurion of the triarii was 'decimus pilus posterior;' the highest centurio was 'primus pilus,' 'primipilus,' or 'primi pili centurio.' In naming the centuriones of the triarii, the name triarii was not used as the names princeps and hastatus were used, but the term pilus. This traitor, whom Sallust speaks of, was the first centurion in the legion.

From Marius' time this division of the legion into hastati, principes, and triarii ceased, and the legion, as we find it in Caesar, was distributed into ten cohortes, each cohors containing three manipuli, and each manipulus containing two centuriae. The centuriones consequently were still sixty in number; and the first centurion of the legion was still named primipilus.

dedit, eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proxumum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostis quo minus victoria uterentur remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum tenet, tamen se memorem humanarum rerum, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis sub jugum missurum; praeterea uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagiti plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat, pax convenit.

39. Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque moeror civitatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperi, pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati, Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume, qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens senatum de foedere consulebat, et tamen interim exercitui supplementum

tenet] In this indirect form 'teneat' would be the usual form. See Cat. 27.—'sub jugum:' he would make the army pass under the 'jugum,' which was formed by two spears placed upright, with a third spear placed across. The Romans had known this ceremony before (Livy iii. 28; ix. 51; and Caesar, B. G. i. 7; and Dionysius iii. c. 21).

mutabantur] This is the reading of several MSS. Others have 'minitabantur,' 'multabantur,' and other still more corrupt forms. Some have 'nutabant,' out of which Palmerius made 'mutabant,' in the sense of 'mutabantur.' The sense seems to be, 'though all this was most painful and disgraceful, still, because it was in the place of the fear of death.'

39. *timere libertati*] I don't know what he means, unless it is 'that they feared for their freedom.' They thought that Jugurtha might overthrow the Roman state, as in Cat. 3, 'sibi patriaeque diffidere.'

manu—quaesiverat] 'Manus' is the same as 'virtus.' Allen has 'quaesiverit.' The Romans could use either tense here, but the indicative contains a positive affirmation.

consul Albinus] There had been no elections for the year B.C. 109, and there were no consuls. Yet he calls Albinus consul. We must suppose that he acted as consul, but if he did, it was an irregular thing.

supplementum] The usual word in such a case, 'reinforcements,' fresh troops to supply losses, or to increase the strength of the army.—'ab sociis et nomine Latino:' 'socii et nomen Latinum' is a common form of expression. The 'socii' are the Italians who were dependent on the Romans; and the 'nomen Latinum' means the 'Latini,' who, though they had not yet the Roman 'civitas,' were subject to Rome on better terms than the 'socii.' Up to the year B.C. 90, when the Lex Julia gave the 'civitas' to all the Italians south of Gallia Cisalpina,

scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere, denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus ita uti par fuerat decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

40. Interim Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, uti quaereretur

all the dependent states were included in the terms 'Socii et Latini,' or 'Socii et nomen Latinum.' (Becker, Handbuch, &c. iii. 1, p. 37.)

uti par fuerat] 'As it had been right or proper,' according to general principles. No 'foedus' or treaty could be made without a Lex or the consent of the Populus, as Cicero says, Pro Balbo, c. 15, "de quo foedere populus Romanus sententiam non tulit, qui injussu suo nullo pacto potest religione obligari." This case in Sallust however was not a 'foedus,' but a surrender. The Roman Senate would never ratify any agreement made by their Magistratus, if they had exceeded their authority; and they did right. So it was in the case of the disgrace at Caudium (Livy ix. 10; Eutrop. x. 9).

in provincia] That is, in the 'provincia Africa.'—'soluto imperio:' 'in consequence of the discipline having been destroyed.' The discipline lies in the authority ('imperium') of the general, and that was gone.—'animo ardebat:' 'animus ardebat,' Cort.—'ex copia rerum:' 'with such means at his command,' that is, none at all, or bad means. Whether 'ex copia rerum' is much or little will appear from the sense of the passage in which the words occur. See c. 98.

40. *ad populum promulgat*] 'Sets up in public,' that every body might see what the 'rogatio' was. A Roman 'promulgation' was a publication of a proposed Lex. One MS. has 'pervulgat.' 'Promulgare' has the same sense as 'provulgare,' which form occurs in some writers, if the texts are genuine.

The terms of Mamilius' 'rogatio' would comprehend Aulus, and we must suppose that the 'rogatio' was proposed after his surrender. Here we have an example of the use of the popular magistrates, the Tribuni plebis. Several men of the nobility who were employed in the public service, had been guilty of misconduct, and had even sold the interests of Rome; or it was believed that they had. It was in a tribune's power to bring these men to trial by obtaining the consent of the people, which in such a case could easily be got. This was the only way in which the powerful body of the nobility could be assailed, for this body was always ready to protect any of its members who had mismanaged the public service. Every noble in his turn might be exposed to the danger of an inquiry into his public conduct, and every noble was interested in giving that protection to the members of the nobility, which he might wish to get himself some day. The

in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset, quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias accepissent, qui elephantos quique perfugas tradidissent, item qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent. Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit, magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicae; tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida

tribune might act from pure motives, from a desire to punish dishonest men who had injured the state; or his hostility might be, as it often was, excited only by the spirit of party. But whether the motive was pure or not, the state got advantage from it. The powerful noble was humbled and punished. The contest between the nobility and the popular party made Rome great and free, and even at this time of decline and corruption, the hostility of the two bodies still gave to Rome life and activity. There are no means in our system of bringing great offenders so readily to account, as the Romans possessed by means of the tribune's office. "The Roman tribunes stood between the Plebes and the Senate, and resisted the insolence of the nobles" (Machiavelli).—'neglegisset:' this form was used as well as 'neglexisset.'

ex partium invidia] 'From the hostility of the popular party.'—'resistere—quin,' &c.: 'since they could not openly resist this Rogatio without (thereby) admitting that those crimes and crimes like them had their approval.'—'nominis Latini,' &c.: these Latini and Socii had not at this time the right of voting at Rome ('jus suffragii'). It was in some other way then that they were used by the nobles to put obstacles in the way of the Rogatio; but Sallust does not say how this was done.

rogationem jusserit] 'Confirmed the Rogatio,' made it a Lex. 'Jubere' is the word used to express the vote of the Populus at the 'comitia,' in reply to the form of the Rogatio 'Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites.' Sallust has added 'decreverit,' a word properly applied to the Senate only, and perhaps he means nothing by it. Cort suggests that 'decreverit' was added because the 'populus' referred to the Senate the choice of the 'quaesitores,' 'ut quos vellet quaesitores decerneret,' as in Livy 38, c. 54. But the Populus would hardly let the Senate choose the 'quaesitores.' However Cort concludes that Sallust only intends to mark the great ardour of the Populus.—'mala illa:' the punishment which would follow on conviction.—'lubido:' 'passion in the opposing parties.' See Cat. 51.

suorum fugam] The populace were overjoyed at carrying the Rogatio. The nobility were alarmed like a routed army (see c. 65, 'nobilitate fusa'). In the midst of this

etiamtum civitate, quum ex Mamili rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat ut ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque ex rumore et lubidine plebis; ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

41. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senatus factionum ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide mo-

confusion Scaurus contrived to be elected one of the 'quaesitores,' one of the men who presided over this special commission for the trial of traitors. It was certainly a clever contrivance for a man, who was believed to be one of the guilty, to get himself made a judge instead of appearing as a criminal. Jacobs suggests that he may have been elected because the people had a good opinion of him, as Cicero had (c. 15). The establishment of 'quaestiones perpetuae,' or standing courts for the trial of many offences, was fully effected by the legislation of Sulla. But in some cases a 'quaestio perpetua' had been introduced before the time of which Sallust is writing, as, for instance, by the Lex Calpurnia, B.C. 149, for cases of Repetundae.

ex rumore—plebis] 'The inquiry was carried on in a harsh and irregular manner under the influence of popular report and popular excitement.'

ex secundis rebus] 'In their success,' in consequence of their political superiority at this time, the people were arrogant and insolent. See Cat. 12, 'ex divitiis.'

Sallust has not told us the result of these trials. His way of writing history is the misty and obscure. The result was this (Cicero, Brutus, c. 34), "invidiosa lege Mamilia quaestione C. Galbam sacerdotem et quatuor consulares L. Bestiam, C. Catonem, Sp. Albinum civemque praestantissimum L. Opimium Gracchi interfectorem a populo absolutum, quum is contra populi studium stetisset, Gracchani judices sustulerunt." The 'Gracchani judices' are the 'equites' to whom C. Gracchus, B.C. 123, transferred the 'judicia,' that is, the power of acting as 'judices' or jurymen in such prosecutions as this under the Lex Mamilia. This passage of Cicero says nothing of Aulus Albinus. Cicero calls it 'invidiosa quaestio.' It touched the good Opimius whom Cicero admired after he had been raised to the highest offices in the state.

41. *senatus factionum*] 'Factions in the Senate.' See c. 8, 'factiosi domi.'—'quae prima:' 'quae' agrees with the predicate 'prima,' instead of 'earum rerum.' 'Res' being a general term, is used like a neuter, 'ea res' being like 'id.'

ante Carthaginem] See Cat. c. 9, 10. But there was a struggle between the Senate and the Plebs from the time of the establishment of the Republic, and the history of this struggle is the most instructive part of Roman history. Sallust's statement is entirely false. The great Italian writer, the first of all political writers, knew better than this superficial historian. "I affirm," he says, "that those who condemn the disturbances between the nobles and the people, seem to me to blame those things which were the first occasion for maintaining Rome free, and that they look more

desteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus discessit, scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vortere, sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt; res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat, plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat. Paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur; penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus,

to the rumours and the cries which arose from such tumults, than to the good effects which they produced; and that they do not consider that there are in every republic two different tempers, that of the people and that of the great; and that all the laws which are made in favour of liberty spring from their disunion, as it may easily be seen to have been the case in Rome." (Machiavelli, Discorsi i. c. 4.)—'gloriae:' 'false glory,' says Kritz, and so this passage does not contradict the passage in Cat. 7, "gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat," where Sallust is speaking of real glory. Jacobs says the same.

quae—amant] See c. 34.—'asperius:' peace from the foreign enemy became more dangerous ('asperius') and brought worse consequences ('acerbius') than adversity.

dignitatem] The 'nobilitas' possessed 'rank,' the 'populus' had 'freedom;' both began to employ their several powers to party purposes ('lubidinem'), not to the good of the state. Kritz adds 'in dominationem' after 'dignitatem;' but there is not much authority for the words.—'res publica:' the nobility and the people were pulling in opposite directions, and the common weal, which the author represents as a thing placed between them, and at which both of them were pulling in opposite directions, was rent in pieces. This is not a way of writing which gives a clear idea. It appears from what he says that the nobility got the best part of the lacerated republic, and indeed all; and so the people had no share of the common weal.

Jacobs quotes Livy (ii. 57), a passage in which the consuls and tribunes are represented as pulling like the nobility and the people in this passage, with the consequence 'nihil relictum esse virium in medio.'

factione] Literally 'by their making, doing.' They could act together better than the people. Marius (c. 85) calls the 'nobilitas' 'a globus,' or 'compact body.'—'in multitudine minus poterat:' 'though numerous they were less powerful.'

agitabatur] 'Every thing was managed.' 'Agitabatur' is used impersonally.—'aerarium:' the Senate was the administrative body at Rome; and it had the command of the 'aerarium' or public treasury.—'militia atque inopia:' the Plebes were compelled to serve in the army by a kind of conscription; and not

gloriae triumphique erant; populus militia atque inopia urguebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant; interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita

only the Roman citizens, but the Socii and Latini were compelled to supply men and arms. Men who were forced to leave home and fight must have been poor ('inopia').—'praedas:' 'praeda' belonged to the state, and was generally sold and the produce brought into the 'aerarium.' Sometimes 'praeda' was given to the soldiers (c. 91): it was prize money. But we can easily understand that the best part of the booty would fall to the share of the commanders and a few. Army prize money in the English system of war is divided among the captors according to such general rule of distribution as the crown shall direct (2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 53). It may easily be guessed how small the share of the Plebes is, small of necessity by reason of the number of the soldiers, smaller still by reason of the large share of the chief commander and the higher officers.

sedibus pellebantur] Kritz without any reason says that these poor people were driven out of the Ager Publicus, or the public land, which belonged to the Roman state. As he says no more, I do not understand what he means.

The Roman and Greek historians have said a great deal about the occupation of public land, but they have left the matter in much obscurity. There is no doubt that the rich did occupy lands belonging to the state, lands not assigned to any body, and frequently without paying any thing for them. They may have allowed poor people, 'coloni,' or whatever they were named, to settle on some of these lands in consideration of paying something, and they may have ejected them when they thought proper. But it is probable also that the small estates, which were numerous and really belonged to poor people, were often encroached on by rich neighbours, and that by vexatious suits about boundaries and in other ways these poor people were ejected or driven to sell their land to their rich neighbour. We may also suppose the probable case that these small estates were often mortgaged, and that the mortgagor was compelled to sell to pay his debts. Cicero (de Leg. Agrar. ii. 31) speaks of the Ager Campanus, which was public, being occupied and cultivated by poor people as tenants of the state. The Lex Agraria of Rullus proposed to divide this land, to give it in ownership in small lots, but the effect of this law would have been to drive out the tenants who were living on the land.

Sallust's vague talk only tells us that poor people were ejected. It does not tell us what was the cause or the ground of the ejections. Perhaps we may be helped to the meaning of Sallust by a passage in English history. The nobility and gentry, and 'even those holy men the abbots,' were not contented with the rents from their farms. They found out that sheep feeding would pay better. "They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and inclose grounds that they may lodge sheep on them. As if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes; for when an unsatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners as well as tenants are turned out of their possessions by tricks, or by main force, or being wearied out

cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere polluere et vastare omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponerent, moveri civitas et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.

42. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per

with ill usage, they are forced to sell them. By which means these miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families (since country business requires many hands) are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell almost for nothing their household stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer" (More's Utopia, Book i. Burnet's Translation). We may now understand Horace's pathetic picture of ejections (Carm. ii. 18),

"Quid, quod usque proximos
 Revellis agri terminos et ultra
Limites clientium
 Salis avarus? pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens deos
 Et uxor et vir sordidosque natos."

Sallust might have seen that there were more causes for Rome being crowded with poor people than he has told us of (Cat. c. 37).

modo modestiaque] See Cat. 11. —'nihil pensi:' see Cat. 5.—'quoad:' 'till it brought itself to ruin.'—'reperti sunt:' such as the Gracchi. See c. 42.—'dissensio—permixtio:' Cort writes 'permixtio civilis quasi discessio terrae.'

42. *majores*] The father of the Gracchi, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, was a distinguished soldier and statesman. He conquered the Celtiberi and the island of Sardinia. The wife of this Gracchus was Cornelia, a daughter of P. Scipio Africanus the younger, the conqueror of Carthage.—'per socios ac nomen Latinum:' see c. 39. One object of the reforms of the two brothers Ti. and Caius Gracchus, was to settle the question of the public land and to plant the poor on lands of their own. It is probable that some of the Italian Socii and the Latini were interested in this matter. If some of the Socii and the Latini were in possession of public land, they would have been ejected under the laws of the Gracchi, and so they would join in opposing these laws. The Italici and Socii, as already said, had no votes at Rome at this time, but they could help to make a disturbance. M. Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship B.C. 125 attempted, or it may be C. Gracchus, to gain the support of the Italian states by proposing a Lex for giving them the Roman 'civitas,' in other words for putting them on the same footing as Roman citizens. However, whether it was Flaccus or C. Gracchus who attempted this great change, it was frustrated by the Senate, who refused to put the dependent states on the same footing as Roman citizens (Appian, B. G. i. 21). The Social or Marsic war, B.C. 90, compelled the Senate to give what they had long refused.

equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducundis cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit, plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessumdedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res maturius me deserat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

43. Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri [foedam] fugam Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati,

spes societatis] He means that the nobles seeing the danger tried to gain the help of the Equites by making them partners in their profit. And so 'the hope of this partnership had separated the Equites from the Plebes.' Jacobs remarks that C. Gracchus tried to meet this design of the nobles by his Lex Judiciaria, which gave to the Equites alone the power of sitting as 'judices' or jurymen.—'eadem:' perhaps the accusative, says Jacobs. Kritz thinks that it is the ablative. —'triumvirum col. deduc.:' the title given to one of three persons, the usual number being three, who were empowered by a Lex to establish a colony. Gracchus established a colony on the site of Carthage, which the Romans had destroyed (Plut. C. Gracchus, c. 11). As to the deaths of the two brothers see c. 31.

Sed bono, &c.] The Gracchi had gone too far, and done wrong ('injuriam'); 'but for a good man (good men) it is better to be overpowered (by wrong, wrong doers), than to get the better of wrong (the wrong doer) by means which are a bad example.' The nobility, notwithstanding the provocation of Gracchus, would have done better to yield than to avenge themselves, as they did. This leads to the remark in the next sentence about the nobility abusing their victory over the Gracchi.

timoris] 'More fear on the part of the people,' Kritz; 'fear of the people,' Jacobs.—'Quae res:' this form is often used. There is no one word to which 'quae res' refers, and hence perhaps there is a little obscurity sometimes when it is used. I should translate it, 'and this is what,' &c., and the 'this' is explained by 'dum alteri,' &c. It is true that 'quae res' refers to what he has said, but it is a general and vague reference, and 'quae res' is explained by the words which follow. Cort says that Sallust has here imitated a passage of Thucydides (iii. 82). I see no signs of imitation.—'deserat:' Cort. The common reading is 'deseret.' Cort omits 'me' before 'deserat.'

43. *Q. Metellus*] Q. Caecilius

provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quamquam advorso populi partium, fama tamen aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum quod gesturus erat animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere, arma, tela, equos, et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim, denique omnia, quae in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, socii nomenque Latinum et reges ultro auxilia mittendo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio annitebatur. Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, quum propter artis bonas, tum maxume, quod advorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat, et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae hostiumque auctae erant.

44. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino pro consule iners, imbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator

Metellus, afterwards named Numidicus. He and Silanus were consuls in B.C. 109. They are named 'consules designati,' the name given to consuls who have been elected, but have not yet entered on their office (Cat. c. 18). They were not elected in B.C. 110, as they ought to have been (c. 37).—'partiverant:' see c. 27. Cort writes 'paraverunt,' and encloses 'provincias' in [ ].—'advorso—partium:' 'the opponent of the popular party.' 'Advorsus' is a noun here.—'fama—aequabili:' 'a man of invariably good repute.'

alia—ratus] 'Considering that the care of every thing else was divided between him and his colleague, he directed his energy to the war.'

in bello vario] A war in which there would be great variety of circumstances, and one which would therefore require preparation of various kinds.—'senatus auctoritate:' '*senatus*' *is* the nominative. The 'senate' by giving their sanction ('auctoritate'), the Socii and Latini by sending troops without being asked ('ultro'). Cort writes 'senati auctoritate,' and 'contra edd. omnes,' as he says, and I suppose contrary to all the MSS., for he says nothing of them. The text then will mean, 'pursuant to the decree of the Senate the Socii and Latini sent auxilia,' and 'ultro' must be taken with 'reges' only, as Cort has it, who writes 'Latinum, reges' &c.

ex sententia] According to his design; so that the preparation corresponded to his wishes (Kritz). See 'ex sententia,' c. 38.

44. *lingua—promptior*] 'Manu promptus' is a man of action, one who is ready to strike and to do a decisive act. Sallust uses an ordinary expression applied to a man, and applies it to an army.—'praedator—praeda:' this means little. It is a rhetorical antithesis. The

ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxili aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi quum odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur ea neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat; lixae permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur; palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere, eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio et aliis talibus; praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo, quae-

men were in the Provincia Africa, and may have been plundering the provincials. They could not at the same time be plundered by the enemy ('praeda hostium'), for there was no enemy there.—'sine—habitus:' 'not kept under military discipline, nor acting under proper restraint.' See Cat. 11 on 'modestia.'

aestivorum tempus] 'The season for the campaign.' See B. G. viii. 6, 'sub tempus aestivorum.' Here he says that the consuls for B.C. 109 were not elected till the spring of B.C. 109. See c. 37.—'exspectatione—intentos:' see Cat. c. 2.

stativis castris] 'In a fixed camp.' —'odos:' the 'smell:' when the camp became offensive to the smell and unhealthy; if it be true that strong stinks are in themselves unhealthy by poisoning the atmosphere which is breathed. They are disagreeable certainly, and they do affect some people's appetite and make them sick. The Romans at least did wisely in changing their quarters when they had become too strong for their noses. See B. G. viii. 52, "Ipse tantum itinerum faciebat quantum satis esse ad mutationem locorum propter salubritatem existimabat." Compare Vegetius, lib. iii., on the change of encampments.—'lixae:' Forcellini translates 'lixa' by 'vivandiere,' 'one who sells victuals to the soldiers.' They were different from the 'mercatores,' who were traders, who bought and sold. The 'mercatores' bought, as we see here, slaves and plunder, and sold wine and other such things: "Lixarum mercatorumque, qui plaustris merces portabant, interceptis sarcinis," Bell. Afr. c. 75.—'frumentum publice:' the allowance of corn to the soldiers was given out at fixed times (B. G. i. 16; vi. 33), and sometimes, it seems, a month's allowance was given at once, whence it was called 'menstruum' (Polybius vi. 39; Livy 44, c. 2). The soldiers sold their corn and bought bread from the 'lixae,' for bakers are included in 'lixae.' 'Publice,' 'on the part of the State.'

cunque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, ea in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius.

45. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior, tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum; namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet, ne lixae exercitum sequerentur, ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisse. Praeterea transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere, juxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

46. Interea Jugurtha, ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus ac tum demum veram dedi-

45. *comperior*] A deponent form as in c. 108.—'tanta—moderatum:' 'moderatum' agrees with 'Metellus:' 'with so much self-restraint did he keep the just mean between indulgence and severity;' for we may translate 'ambitio' by 'indulgence,' as 'ambitio' means the attempt to gain popularity by solicitation and other improper ways.—'ceteris arte:' he absolutely forbade some things: 'to all the rest (of the irregularities) he strictly (arte) imposed limits.'

transvorsis itineribus] 'Moving across the country.' He encamped only for the night, and made his men fortify the camp ('vallo atque fossa munire'), just as if they had been near an enemy. He acted as if he was in a campaign. —'vigilias crebras:' the watches were changed at short intervals.—'cum signis frequentes:' he made them march with *their standards*, and in large numbers, as if they might be going to battle. As to carrying their food and arms, that was a part of Roman discipline. Cicero says (Tusc. ii. 16) that the Roman soldier carried more than half a month's food, and every thing else that was useful. As to shield, sword, helmet, the soldier considered them no more as a burden than his shoulders, arms, and hands. His armour was a part of himself.

46. *innocentia*] 'Integrity.' See Cat. 12, and Jug. c. 43, 'advorsum divitias,' &c.; and Caesar, B. G. i. 40, "suam innocentiam perpetua vita . . . perspectam," where 'innocentia' is opposed to 'avaritia.'—'suppliciis:' see Cat. c. 52, 'suppliciis muliebribus.' He has said, Jug. c. 38, 'supplicantis legatos.' Cort suggests that the 'legati' came with the usual symbols of supplication, olive branch or bay.

tionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos aggreditur, ac paulatim temptando, postquam opportunos [sibi] cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet uti Jugurtham maxume vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent; ceterum palam quae ex voluntate forent regi nuntiari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit, ubi contra belli faciem tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant; ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia quae imperarentur facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere et insidiis locum temp-

experimentis] I do not know whether he means by Metellus' own experience, nor does it appear what experience of the Numidians Metellus had. But their character was known from past experience. Allen cites Tacitus, Ann. xii. 4, 'experimentis cognitum est.' See Agric. c. 16.

divorsos] See Cat. c. 20, 'divorsi audistis.'—'parum procedat:' 'if that could not be done.' See c. 35. —'quae ex voluntate,' &c.: 'what should be in agreement with the king's wishes.' So the Romans wrote 'ex lege,' 'pursuant to a Lex,' 'ex sententia' (c. 43), and other like forms.

infesto] The participle of 'inferre,' 'with his army prepared to attack.' So the Romans said 'inferre signa.' See Cat. c. 60.—'commeatum portare:' 'to carry the Roman baggage,' all that was necessary for war. They brought beasts, we may suppose, and even carried things themselves to save the soldier his labour, or it may mean that they brought supplies of all kinds, for he has mentioned 'frumentum.'—'omnia quae imperarentur:' this is the same as 'omnia imperata.' Comp. Jug. c. 62, 'Jugurtham imperata facturum,' and Caesar's expressions (ii. 3, 'imperata facere;' ii. 32, 'quae imperarentur facere dixerunt'). Allen compares Demosthenes, de Cor. 59, τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν.

munito agmine] This is explained in the next sentence. His order of march was protected with great care. —'ostentui credere:' he believed that the tokens of surrender were only a false show. See 'ostentui,' c. 24.—'insidiis—temptare:' Kritz has 'temptari,' and remarks that 'insidiis' is the ablative. The passage then would mean, 'he believed that the ground or country was made dangerous by ambuscades.' But Cort says that 'temptari' or 'tentari' is a conjecture of Gronovius. I suppose that 'insidiis' is the dative, and that 'temptare' means, as Cort says, that those who had shown signs of submission, were looking out for opportunities to fall on the Romans.

tare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat, in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum his permixti velites quocunque accederent equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, ut absens an praesens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset in incerto haberetur.

47. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul simul temptandi gratia, et si paterentur opportunitatis loci, praesidium imposuit; praeterea impe-

expeditis] 'Without incumbrance.' So Caesar uses the word; and he writes 'mittere in expeditionem' (B. G. v. 10).—'curabat:' compare Cat. 59, 'in sinistra parte curare jubet.' — 'praefectis cohortium:' the commanders of the cohortes of the Socii are named Praefecti. These cohortes are not the cohortes of the legions, for it seems that the auxiliary cohorts were not formed into legions. When Caesar (B. C. i. 39) is enumerating the forces of Afranius and Petreius, he speaks of five legions, and eighty cohorts of Hispani.—'velites:' 'light troops.' The name 'velites' does not occur in Caesar. Livy (30, c. 33) writes "Vias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum velitibus, ea tunc levis armatura erat, complevit." Caesar (B. G. ii. 10) writes 'levis armaturae Numidas.' Cort remarks that Livy (26, c. 4) speaks of the origin of the 'velites.' —'equitatus hostium:' 'the bodies or troops of the enemy's cavalry.' The plural marks the division into parts of a whole thing, as 'fumi,' 'frigora,' 'fossae,' in Caesar, who also uses 'equitatus' in the plural (B. C. i. 61).

pacem—gerens] So we must take it, though the Romans only wrote 'bellum gerere,' but one verb serves two purposes here. Cort has 'quacunque accederent' above.

47. *Vaga*] See c. 29. Sallust has not told us from what place in the Provincia Metellus set out, nor what direction he took in invading Numidia. Here we learn that he came near Vaga. — 'celebratum:' 'frequented.' He calls it a 'forum rerum venalium,' a market. The Romans gave the name of Forum, with some distinguishing appellation, to many places in their provinces.— 'Italici generis:' 'men from various parts of Italy.' The term may of course include Romans.

Huc—praesidium imposuit] 'In this town the consul placed a garrison;' 'huc' being equivalent to 'in hoc.' The reading of the intermediate words is doubtful, and Cort has made the sentence worse by his attempt to mend it. The meaning seems to be, 'he placed a garrison in the town both for the purpose of trying the people's disposition (temptandi incolas), and if they (incolae) should allow it (the garrison), also because of the advantage of the position.'—'imperavit—comportare:' so they wrote sometimes instead of using 'ut' and the subjunctive after 'imperare.' — 'negotiatorum:' see

ravit frumentum et alia quae bello usui forent comportare, ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatu juvaturam exercitum et jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. Quos item uti priores consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat, regi pacem quam postulabat neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

48. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit ac se suis artibus temptari animum advortit, quippe cui verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati, coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possede-

Cat. c. 40.—'et commeatu juvaturam:' an emendation of Fabri. Most of the MSS. have 'commeatum juvaturum,' and some have 'commeatu juvaturum.' Cort inclosed in [ ] 'juvaturum exercitum.'—'et jam paratis:' 'and would be a protection to what he had already got together.'

impensius modo] 'With greater earnestness.' Cort, if I understand him right, takes 'modo' as the ablative of 'modus,' and 'impensius modo' to be the same as 'impensius quam modus.' The same expression occurs in c. 75. Others take 'modo' as an adverb, and as strengthening 'impensius.' Jacobs translates it 'nur noch eifriger als früher = nun erst recht eifrig,' 'only still more earnestly than before, = now at last in right earnest.'

48. *urbs*] The city Vaga was taken from him ('alienata').

quam—copias] This is the Latin order. Some form of 'posse' is placed between 'quam' followed by an adjective ('maxumas'), and the noun ('copias'). Caesar (B. G. v. 1), 'quam plurimas possent hieme naves;' and B. G. i. 7, 'quam maximum potest . . . numerum.'

in divisione] See c. 16.—'Muthul:' this name is unknown, and Sallust tells us nothing which will fix the position of the river. Ptolemy (iv. 3, 5) names a river Rubricatus, which flows into the sea a little east of Hippo Regius. The Rubricatus may be the river which the Theodosian Table names Ubus, which is now the Seibouse or Zenati; but Shaw and Pellissier think that the Rubricatus is the Mafrag; and it has been conjectured that the Rubricatus is Sallust's Muthul. But it is impossible to say what river the Muthul is. If it is the Rubricatus, the names are quite different. Pellissier (Algérie, p. 359) says, "that by studying Sallust well, we see that Metellus followed the course of the river upwards, not far from Vacca (Bêdja), as he advanced from the

rat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul, a quo aberat mons ferme milia passuum viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu; sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae praeter flumini propinqua loca; ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

49. Igitur in eo colle quem transvorso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit, elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit eumque edocet quae ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat. Dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet

north-east to the south-west; accordingly it may be one of the affluents of the Bagrada, perhaps the Ouad-el-Khemis." The reader who finds all this in Sallust will find more than Sallust has said, and perhaps more than he knew.—'tractu pari:' running in the same direction as the river, and forming perhaps one of the boundaries of the river basin. The word 'passuum' is omitted as in c. 75 and elsewhere.—'ab natura:' naturally, 'on the part of nature,' literally.—'medio quasi:' 'from about the middle of it,' that is, the mountain or mountain tract. See c. 50. But the meaning of 'ex eo medio' is doubtful. Allen explains it thus, 'ex ejus latere collis oriebatur,' and he may be right. 'Medio colle' can mean half way down a hill, as in Caesar (B. C. i. 41). This 'collis' may be one of the lateral offsets of the mountain range, and running at right angles to the chief range and the river. 'In immensum' is also obscure. Some explain it as 'in immensam latitudinem pertinens,' but Sallust does not say that. If it extended to the river, it would be about twenty miles long.—'pertingens:' Gronovius altered this to 'pertinens,' the usual word in this sense (Caesar, B. G. i. 1).—'humi arido atque arenoso:' the neuter adjective is used like a noun, 'on the dry and sandy of the ground.'—'Media autem planities:' the plain was between the 'mons' and the river. 'Planities' is one of Caesar's words (B. G. ii. 8).

49. *transvorso itinere*] 'In a transverse direction,' as he says that he has told us (c. 48); but he has not told us in a clear way. 'Iter' is here used in the sense of 'direction.'—'extenuata—acie:' 'having lengthened his line.' Kritz properly remarks that the 'suos' are the 'omnis equitatus' and the 'pedites dilecti.'

turmas et manipulos] Sallust applies Roman terms to the army of Jugurtha.—'quae—decuerint:' that is, 'provideri.' Cort compares c. 14, 'fratri quem minume decuit . . . eripuit.' It is a usual form with this word 'decere.' See the note on c. 14. The common form in this passage would be 'decuerit,' which may be the true reading, and Allen has printed 'decuerit' on the authority of one MS.—'prudentes cum imperitis:' 'men acquainted with the ground and knowing what they were going to do, with men who were ignorant of these things.'

atque obtestatur, uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant; cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint; ducem illis non animum mutatum; quae ab imperatore decuerint omnia suis provisa, locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent; proinde parati intentique essent signo dato Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere benefici sui et eum ipsum aliis ostentare; postremo pro cujusque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare, quum interim Metellus ignarus hostium monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicitur, primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet—nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti quidnam esset, quum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati—dein brevi cognitis insidiis paulisper agmen constituit. Ibi commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere, quod

conspicitur] Gruter wrote 'conspicatur' on the authority of Donatus (ad Terent. Eunuch. ii. 3. 92). But all the MSS. have 'conspicitur,' and the sense requires that word.—'incerti:' this is a passive participle, like 'certus,' and we must give to it the proper sense 'undistinguished,' 'what it was,' as if he had written 'incertum.' Jacobs cites the same use in Livy (30, c. 35), "Italicos intervallo quoque diremptos, incertos socii an hostes essent." Allen takes 'signa' to be the accusative case. If that is so, it will depend on 'obscurati.'—'constituit:' 'he made the army halt.' Cort has 'constitit,' the reading of one MS.: a few have 'instituit.' He of course gives to 'constitit' an active sense.

commutatis ordinibus] The 'ordines' are the centuriae. Metellus was crossing the mountain range, which ran parallel to the river; and he was marching with his men in the order best adapted to prevent surprise ('munito agmine,' c. 46). The infantry unencumbered and ready for action, were leading: Marius with the cavalry followed; and the auxiliary cavalry, light active troops, were on each flank (c. 46). On coming down the mountain Metellus saw the plain in front, and the hill with the enemy upon it on his right, and he changed his order. He formed in battle order on the right, for the enemy was on that side, and he turned his face towards them. He drew up his infantry with a triple reserve, and in the intervals between the manipuli, he placed slingers and archers. He placed the cavalry on each wing, and he was ready for battle. But in order to get down

proxumum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit, inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem sicut instruxerat transvorsis principiis in planum deducit.

50. Sed ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existumans hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis proeliis iter suum remoraturos, et quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos. Deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere, Marium post principia habere, ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio quasi duum milium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui ac post munimento foret; dein repente signo dato hostis invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextera temptare, infensi adesse

the hill, Metellus must make his men wheel round and turn their faces towards the river, and this is what Sallust means by 'transvorsis principiis.' This is the author's meaning, so far as I can discover it, by reading what others have written on the passage, and using my own judgment.

50. *ex anni*] 'In consequence of,' as one might expect from the season of the year, which was summer.—'locum—antecaperet:' 'locum capere' is the Roman expression for choosing ground for encampment. 'Antecapere' means to get it before the main body arrived, or before the enemy should attempt to hinder them. — 'transvorsis proeliis:' by attacking his flank, for if Metellus continued his march, he would have the enemy on the right of his line of direction.—'lassitudinem — temptaturos:' 'would try their weariness and thirst,' means that they would attack the Romans when they were exhausted with marching and thirst.

in agmine principes] The left wing of the 'acies' (c. 49) would become the head of the column, when the army formed in marching order. The word 'principia' includes all those who in forming the 'acies,' in forming in order of battle, were placed nearest to the enemy on the hill. On the march also they would be on the right, and consequently nearest to the enemy. Marius was behind them with his cavalry.

primos suos] 'The first of his own' is not clear. Perhaps by the 'first' Sallust means those troops of Jugurtha, opposite to which the army of Metellus came first. — 'quasi duum:' 'about two thousand.' See c. 48.

Numidae alii—pars] 'The Nu-

atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare, quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto proelio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conserendi manum copia erat. Ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicunque Romanorum turma insequi coeperat, non confertim neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxume divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

51. Ceterum facies totius negoti varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis; dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi, neque signa neque ordines observare, ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare, arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes atque cives permixti; nihil consilio neque imperio agi; fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, quum etiamtum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit et cohortis legionarias quattuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars

midians,' whom he then divides into two parts, 'alii—pars;' as in Cat. c. 2, 'pars . . . alii.'—'ludificati:' 'mocked,' or 'confused.' — 'ipsi modo:' 'they themselves only were wounded,' and not the enemy.—'turma:' 'turba,' Cort.—'divorsi:' 'flying in different directions.'

priores] 'Superior,' like 'sapientia prior,' c. 10.—'ea:' 'by that way,' by the hill; like 'eaque' in c. 38.—'insolentia loci:' their want of acquaintance with the ground. Compare 'insolentia itineris,' c. 94.

51. *incerta*] The meaning is something like that of 'incerti' in c. 49, 'confused.' 'Foeda,' I suppose, to a Roman, or one who looked on it as a Roman. It is hard to find a word for 'foeda.'—'neque observare:' 'neither looked to the standards nor the ranks.' See c. 80. He concludes this vague description with the more vague rhetorical formula, 'chance governed every thing.'

multum diei — quum] 'Quum' with the indicative marks the time; but our mode of expression is this,—'and even then.' Cort has 'die,' another form of the genitive.

cohortis legionarias] The Roman cohorts, as opposed to the Socii. Jacobs correctly observes that a division of a legion, though it consisted at this time of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, was called a cohort, though the arrangement by cohorts in a battle was not made the usual order until Marius did it somewhat later. See Cat. c. 59.

eorum] The Numidae.—'neque illis:' the Romans, whom Metellus

superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientis vincere; neque illis castra esse neque munimentum ullum quo cedentes tenderent; in armis omnia sita. Sed nec Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat; circumire, hortari, renovare proelium et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia, subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat eminus pugnando retinere.

52. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus, Jugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat, advorso colle sicuti praeceptum fuerat evadunt. Amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique; pauci interiere, plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paulatim suos in aequum locum deducit, ac dum legatus ad flumen quo praemissus erat festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat, neque remittit quid ubique hostis ageret explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam et animo vacuum accepit simulque ex Jugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo

is addressing.—'dubiis:' 'the unsteady,' the wavering, opposed to 'firmos.'—'retinere:' 'he checked.'

52. *die vesper*] 'Die' is the gen. Comp. c. 21, 'die extremum erat.'

advorso colle—evadunt] 'Make their way up the hill.' They move out of their position along and up the hill. 'Advorso colle,' says Cort, is the same as 'in advorsum collem.' Allen compares Livy ii. 51, "adversо Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit;" and Livy 21, c. 31, "adversa ripa Rhodani," 'along the banks of the Rhone, against the stream.'—'ignara:' see c. 18, 'ignara lingua.'—'neque remittit—explorare:' Jacobs remarks that 'remittere' with an infinitive is altogether unusual.

animo vacuum] 'At leisure in his mind.' He had reached his camp, got over his difficulties, and his mind was easy and ready to attend to other things.—'arte:' 'close,' 'compact.' See c. 45.—'quo officeret:' 'in order to prevent Rutilius from marching' to help the Romans, as he has said, he extends his line ('latius porrigit').

hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit eoque modo ad Rutili castra procedit.

53. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari, post ubi aequabilem manere et sicut acies movebatur magis magisque appropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt ac pro castris, sicut imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantum modo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique abjectis armis collis aut noctis quae jam aderat auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quattuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi lassique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt; nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte postquam haud procul inter se erant strepitu velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum

53. *pulveris vim*] 'Magna vis jumentorum,' Caesar, B. G. vi. 36. So the Romans said 'vis aquae' (c. 75), a great body of water, 'hederae vis,' &c.

tantum modo remorati, dum] 'having stood their ground only so long as:' 'tantum,' 'so much,' that is, 'temporis,' and then he adds 'modo,' 'in a manner.' The word 'modo' limits 'tantum.' Kritz compares Cat. c. 36, 'ipse paucos dies commoratus dum.'—'fugam faciunt:' 'fly.' Allen quotes Livy 8, c. 9, 'fugam fecerunt,' 'fled,' and Cort cites Terence, Eunuch. iv. 7, 17, 'facerent fugam,' in the same sense.

fessi lassique erant, tamen] This is the common reading. Cort has 'fessi laetique erant, tamen.' If 'lassi' seems an idle word, 'laeti' is more difficult to explain. Cort refers 'fessi' to their labour at the camp and the battle; 'laeti' to the accomplishment of their labour and the victory. Allen writes 'fessi erant, laeti tamen,' and explains it, 'laeti tamen—procedunt.'

postquam—erant] Compare c. 13, 'postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur.'—'strepitu:' he first uses one ablative, 'obscura nocte,' 'the night being dark,' or 'as the night was dark.' He then says 'strepitu—adventare,' 'the two divisions approaching one another with a noise like two hostile armies.'—'imprudentia:' 'through their ignorance,' or 'through want of proper precaution.'—'admissum:' 'a lamentable accident would have happened.' 'Admissum' implies blame. The complete expression is 'in se facinus admittere.' Horace, Ep. i. 16, 53, 'tu nihil admittes in te.'—'bonos detractant:' 'detracts from the credit even of the brave.' Livy writes (38, c. 49) 'invidia detractat virtutes.'

facere, et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt, sua quisque fortia facta ad coelum fert. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet, advorsae res etiam bonos detractant.

54. Metellus in iisdem castris quatriduo moratus saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, univorsos in contione laudat atque agit gratias; hortatur ad cetera quae levia sunt parem animum gerant; pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat, ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiae ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt etiamtum regis animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non

54. *quatriduo moratus*] Sallust uses the ablative which may be explained 'within' or 'during the four days which he stayed on the ground Metellus carefully looks after the wounded.' But 'quatriduum' would be the usual form.—'quae levia sunt:' this contains an affirmation that all the rest is easy work; and so the indicative is properly used.

ubi gentium—agitaret] 'Agitaret' referred to 'ubi' must have an intransitive sense, says Kritz; and perhaps he is right. But it is easy to supply 'esset' with 'ubi gentium.'

in loca saltuosa] Jugurtha fled to the mountains and difficult places; but we are not told any thing more, nor do we suppose that the author *knew* where he went.—'belli cultorem:' 'agri cultor' is a common expression, but 'belli cultor' is not.

ea gratia—quod] 'for this reason, because.' See c. 80.—'ex fuga:' not 'in flight' simply, but after they have begun to fly. Comp. 'ex itinere,' Cat. 52.

quod nisi ex illius lubidine] 'such a war as could not be carried on except as the king chose,' because it depended on him, when and where he would fight. Cort omits the 'non' before 'posset,' and there is MSS. authority for omitting it. He compares a like passage of Livy, 34, c. 16, 'ubi spem nisi in virtute haberent.' It is admitted however by Cort that we must translate the passage as if 'non' stood before 'posset.' 'Nisi' here is used like an adverb 'except,' as it often is. See Cat. 33,

posset, praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci quam suos vincere, statuit non proeliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissuma pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque, puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia quae usui forent affatim praebita; ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant; quippe cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat sequi cogebatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia quod optumum videbatur consilium capit, exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente aggreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant in proxumos collis discedunt.

55. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus, ut seque et exercitum more majorum gere-

'nisi cum anima simul,' and Jug. c. 61, 'nisi ex insidiis.'—'in acie:' 'acie,' Cort.

loca opulentissuma] He does not tell us which way Metellus turned. He speaks of many forts and towns, but he does not mention a single name.—'temere munita:' 'ill-fortified,' or 'fortified without care.' He says 'sine praesidio,' 'unprotected,' where 'sine' and the noun perform the office of a participle.

Ea formidine] 'By the alarm thus caused.' Comp. Cat. c. 43, 'quo tumultu,' and Jug. 114, 'quo metu.' Caesar often writes thus.

quippe cui—cogebatur] 'for he (Jugurtha) whose safety had been altogether in flight, was compelled to pursue,' to follow Metellus.—'sua loca:' the places which Jugurtha had chosen as for himself. 'In alienis,' 'in places which were unfavourable,' which he did not choose, for he was compelled to follow Metellus, if he would defend his country from plunder.

ex copia] 'With such opportunities as he had,' as well as he could. See c. 39.—'exercitum plerumque:' 'the greater part of his army.' See Cat. 23, 'pleraque nobilitas.'—'in iisdem locis:' 'loca saltuosa et natura munita.'—'nocturnis—ignoratus:' 'by moving in the night, and in directions where there were no roads escaping observation.'

nemo omnium] 'not a single man,' of those, I suppose, who were wandering. But how could Sallust or any body else know that? We can't believe a man who writes in this way.

ret, in advorso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, fama de Metello praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis quam praeda ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant, ceterum quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua venturum hostem audierat pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere, modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agmine temptare ac statim in collis regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

56. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte qua sita erat arcem regni, nomine Zamam,

55. *in advorso — victor tamen*] 'Though on unfavourable ground, still victorious,' or 'though the ground was unfavourable.' See Cat. 2, 'in magna copia.' 'Tamen' with 'victor' corresponds to 'in advorso.' —'magnificum ex:' 'elated by,' or 'proud of.' See 'magnifici,' c. 31. —'supplicia:' see Cat. c. 9. This 'supplicatio' was a religious festival and rejoicing for a victory.—'laeta:' this might be either the nominative agreeing with 'civitas,' or the neuter plural like 'joca atque seria . . . agere' (c. 96), as Jacobs remarks, but he adds that it is more probably the nominative, and I think there is no doubt about that.

necubi] That is 'ne' and 'cubi' the complete form of 'ubi.'—'anxius:' 'animi anxius,' Cort.—'post insidias:' see c. 54.

praeda] That is, 'praedando.' Kritz quotes Livy 22, c. 9, "praeda ac populationibus . . . Marsos devastat."—'divorsi agebant:' 'kept separate,' in different camps, as he has said.—'neque otium pati:' 'nor did he allow them rest.'

56. *Zamam*] He says that Zama was the stronghold of the kingdom, of Jugurtha's kingdom of course.

statuit oppugnare, ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique proelium fore. At ille quae parabantur a perfugis edoctus magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit, oppidanos hortatur moenia defendant additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissumum erat; praeterea pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu affore. Ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxume occulta discedit, ac post paulo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit; simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos. Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent; tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paulisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urguent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

57. Marius ad Zamam pervenit. Id oppidum, in

But Zama, otherwise named Zama Regia, was in the Carthaginian territory, east of the river Bagradas, and five days' march SS.W. of Carthage, in the parallel of Adrumetum. It is now Zouam. The great battle between Scipio and Hannibal was fought between Zama and Naragara, B.C. 202 (Polyb. xv. 5; Pellissier, Description de la Régence de Tunis, p. 227).

additis—perfugis] 'Having added some deserters to the garrison, or to protect the place (auxilio).'—'fallere nequibat:' the deserters could not be false to him ('fallere fidem'), because they knew that they would be punished, if they were taken by the Romans.

ex itinere] See c. 54.—'Sicca:' this is Sicca Veneria, a town west of Zama, and west of the river Bagradas. Sicca is now Kef, and the identity of the two places is proved by an inscription found in the town of Kef which contains the words "ORDO SICCENSIVM CIVI ET CONDECVRIONI." Pliny (H. N. v. 3) says that Sicca had been made a Roman colonia. The remains of Sicca are a confused heap. There are some fine water cisterns outside of the present town, at the foot of some steep rocks, from which the cisterns received water (Pellissier, p. 255).

signa inferre] 'To attack' them. 'Romani signa . . . intulerunt,' Caesar, B. G. i. 25. — 'tanta mobilitate:' 'with such fickleness of disposition.' Caesar (B. G. ii. 1) says of the Galli 'mobilitate et levitate animi;' and iii. 10, 'mobiliter celeriterque excitari.'

campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit, legatis imperat ubi quisque curaret. Deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur, neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent; proelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum modo suffodere, modo scalis aggredi, cupere proelium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere, sudis, pila, praeterea picem et sulphure taedam mixtam ardenti mittere. Sed ne illos quidem qui procul manserant timor animi satis muniverat; nam plerosque jacula tormentis aut manu emissa volnerabant, parique periculo, sed fama impari boni atque ignavi erant.

58. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis quam proelium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri repentino metu perculsi sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii

57. *opere quam natura munitum*] See Cat. c. 7. Caesar, B. G. v. 9, 'egregie et natura et opere,' 'opere,' meaning 'man's labour;' and B. G. v. 57; "et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris;" where 'manu' corresponds to 'opere.'

pro tempore, &c.] 'Conformably to the occasion,' or as the 'occasion and the ground required.' Compare Caesar, B. G. vi. 19, 'pro cultu Gallorum,' according to the means which the Galli have. In this chapter we have 'pro ingenio quisque,' 'each according to his capacity' or 'his fitness.' He writes as if each soldier chose his own way of fighting, though he must mean that each class of soldiers fought after their proper fashion and under orders.—'curaret:' 'command,' 'direct the operations,' and the like. See Cat. c. 59.

glande] With leaden bullets from slings. — 'succedere:' 'came up under the wall.' See c. 94.—'in manibus:' like the Greek ἐν χερσίν, 'hand to hand' (Jacobs).

picem, &c.] Cort has 'picem sulphure et taeda mixtam ardentia.'

ne illos quidem] 'nec illos,' Cort. Here he speaks of men 'who had remained at a distance,' as if it was in their own choice to stay at a distance from the wall or to come near. 'Their fear (timor animi) had not been a sufficient protection,' for they were wounded by the missiles discharged by the townsmen. As their fear had kept them at some distance, a little more fear would have kept them further off, and saved them.

58. *remissis, &c.*] 'Those being negligent, who were left to protect the camp.' See 'nihil remissi,' c. 53.

pro moribus] 'According to his character and habits,' like 'pro ingenio quisque,' c. 57.

fugere, alii arma capere, magna pars volnerati aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem, neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati; sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus quum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit; dein converso equo animadvortit fugam ad se vorsum fieri, quae res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum, eumque lacrumans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat. Ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, quum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

59. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis

non amplius quadraginta] 'Forty, not more.' So the Romans wrote, omitting 'quam.' 'Grege facto,' 'getting together.' He seems merely to mean that the forty stuck close together. Caesar says 'globo facto,' 'cuneo facto,' and Livy, 'manu facta.'—'quam alii:' Kritz supplies 'ceperant;' but Jacobs explains it thus: 'quam alii loci erant,' and he is right. Cort suspects that 'quam alii' are a gloss, and Allen omits them.—'pauci—frustrati:' 'as they were few and the enemy were many, their missiles seldom failed.' 'Frustrati' in a passive sense.—'sin—accessissent:' 'whenever the Numidians approached nearer.' Forty men repelled all the Numidians, threw them into confusion, and put them to flight.

popularis esse] 'That it was his own countrymen who were flying.'

equitatum omnem] He had all the cavalry with him round the town. Jacobs remarks that the cavalry was not wanted for the siege, and was of most use for the relief of the camp. We may ask how it happened not to be left at the camp, where it would have been useful.—'lacrumans—rem publicam:' Allen does not approve of 'lacrumans,' which he supposes to be inconsistent with the dignity of the proud Metellus, and he asks if Sallust in writing it had regard to probability. I cannot tell. But people are often represented as shedding tears in ancient writers, when it would not be the fashion now, as in c. 71. Allen proposes to omit 'eumque lacrumans per amicitiam,' but I see no reason for the omission.

59. *qua erat*] 'Where the king

adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet, portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit, deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque ut superiore die murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit; qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur, reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent; quibus illi freti, non ut equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene victos dare.

60. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere; oppugnare aut parare omnibus locis; avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad coelum ferri; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre

was expected to approach, or could approach.'—'agitare:' 'to be.' See c. 94, 'pro muro—agitare.' Metellus now employs his cavalry for the defence of the camp, which he ought to have done the day before. But as he knew his business, it is more likely that Sallust has not given us a true story.—'Neque diutius:' 'nor would the Numidians have been able to resist so long.' The Numidian cavalry ('illi') relying on the aid of the infantry, who were mingled with them, did not as is usual with cavalry, pursue and retreat as occasion required, but pushed their horses right against the Romans ('advorsis equis concurrere'). —'expeditis peditibus:' 'with the aid of the light infantry.' Jacobs remarks that the mixture of infantry and cavalry was used by the Romans in the second Punic War (Livy 26, c. 4). Caesar (B. G. i. 48; vii. 65) describes the German way of using cavalry and infantry together. The Galli did the same at the siege of Alesia (B. G. vii. 80, "Galli inter equites raros sagittarios expeditosque levis armaturae interjecerant:" and B. G. viii. 17).—'victos dare:' equivalent to 'vincere,' like 'exornatum dabo,' Ter. Haut. v. 1. 77 (Cort).

60. *eo—niti*] 'Curabat:' see c. 57. 'Eo' seems to correspond to 'ubi,' though 'ibi' would be the usual word. But 'eo—niti' may mean 'every man directed his exertions most vigorously to that point where.'—'oppugnare aut parare:' these words refer both to the Romans and the townsmen; and also the words 'alteri alteros,' &c.

paulum modo] 'Only a little,' like 'tantum modo,' Cat. c. 20.—'prospectabant:' 'were looking on' from a distance. Such is the meaning of 'prospectus.'—'uti quaeque—erant:' 'according as each event was favourable to Jugurtha or not.'—'sicuti:' 'as if.' See Cat. c. 31, 'sicuti jurgio.'—'significare:' 'to

prospectabant; eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres, ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut jacientes tela agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, nam is in ea parte curabat, consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simulare; pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. Ita illis studio suorum astrictis repente magna vi murum aggreditur, et jam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, quum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt, ceteri quoquo modo potuere pauci integri, magna pars volneribus confecti abeunt. Denique utrimque proelium nox diremit.

61. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab

make signals,' as in Caesar, B. G. vii. 3, 'clamore . . . significant.'—'niti corporibus:' 'they moved their bodies like men in action.' Cort omits 'ea' before 'huc.'

in ea parte curabat] He was commanding at that part of the town from which the townsmen could see Jugurtha and his men. — 'lenius agere:' 'diminished the violence of the assault.'

studio suorum astrictis] 'Being occupied by their attention to their own countrymen,' to those fighting with Jugurtha. — 'scalis egressi:' 'having mounted by the ladder.' See c. 93.—'summa:' the meaning is doubtful. He may mean 'had almost reached the top of the ladders;' for it does not appear that any of them got from the ladders on the wall.—'unae atque alterae:' 'one or two,' for 'scalae' is used in the plural in this sense. See c. 93, 'unam atque alteram.'

61. *frustra*] That is, 'frustra esse.' See Cat. 20 and Jug. c. 7.—'suo loco:' 'in such places as he chose,' or 'in such places as were favourable to him,' which is the same thing.—'in iis urbibus:' he has only given the name of one city 'Vaga.' Jacobs observes that 'in iis urbibus . . . imposuit' is only used here. Compare 'huc . . . imposuit' c. 47. Kritz remarks that the reflexive ('reflexivum') joined with an indicative ('ad se defecerant') is rather a negligent way of writing; and he refers to Jug. cc. 66. 103. But the indicative is used in a dependent clause like this, when a fact is distinctly predicated. — 'in provinciam—collocat:' according to this and the other passages, Zama was not within the Roman Provincia of Africa. 'He removes the rest of the army and places it for the winter in that part of the province which is nearest to Numidia.' Cort places 'quae . . . Numidiae' thus [ ]. He says that these words are not genuine.

Zama discedit et in iis urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit; ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxuma est Numidiae, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde vadibus datis clam Massivae de nece judicium fugerat, quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur. Ac primo efficit ut ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat; dein fide data, si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet, facile Numidae persuadet, quum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur.

62. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrumans obtestatur ut aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum optume merenti provideat; omnibus proeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos, occisos, regni opes comminutas esse; satis saepe jam et virtutem militum et fortunam temptatam; caveat ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi consulant. His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati qui Jugurtham imperata

insidias regi] Metellus was an active man. Instead of keeping quiet during the winter, or enjoying himself, he was employed in corrupting Jugurtha's friends, and inducing them to give up or murder their king. A general should not let even the dead season pass unprofitably. If he has failed in killing the enemy's general during the campaign, he may get him taken off during the season of rest by the assistance of those whom his enemy trusts to. This was not the Roman practice in the old and ruder times; but civilization was now in a higher state.

qui Romae] See c. 61.—'maxumam amicitiam:' 'his close intimacy with Jugurtha.' — 'sua omnia:' 'would allow him to keep all that he had.' Allen cites Livy (43, c. 1), "Legatus . . . opulenta duo oppida vi atque armis coegit in deditionem, omniaque iis sua concessit;" and also Livy 29, c. 30, and 45, c. 6.

62. *aliquando*] 'Some time,' emphatic, that is, 'at last.'—'sibi consulant:' 'look after their own interests,' that is, make terms with Metellus.

imperata facturum] See c. 46.

facturum dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessi jubet; eorum atque aliorum quos idoneos ducebat consilium habet. Ita more majorum ex consili decreto per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta milia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti; pauci, quum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, quum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, quum modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque praesidiis nequicquam perditis, de inte-

Cort omits 'qui' and 'dicerent.'—'in illius fidem tradere:' the present 'tradere' expresses the act of surrender. 'In fidem' is a common Roman expression: he put every thing in Metellus' hands, and trusted to him. Caesar says, B. G. ii. 15, "sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit;" v. 20, "Caesaris fidem secutus," and other like expressions.

more majorum — decreto] 'According to the ancient custom pursuant to the resolution of the council of war.' The Romans also wrote 'de consilii sententia' (Cic. Verr. ii. 5, c. 21). See c. 29, 'praesenti consilio.'—'imperat—aliquantum:' 'he requires from Jugurtha.' This is like Caesar's expression, B. G. i. 7, "Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat."

perfugas] Appian (Numid. 2) says, "Metellus having received from Jugurtha Thracian and Ligurian deserters, cut off the hands of some, and buried others in the earth up to the belly, and shooting arrows at them or throwing javelins, he placed fire under them while they were still breathing." It is said in a book published not long ago, that Metellus was probably one of the most virtuous citizens of his time. I hope that he was not, if Sallust's story of his dealings with Jugurtha, and Appian's story of his treatment of these deserters is true. Those who believe both stories, and still think Metellus to have been one of the most virtuous citizens of his time, have either a very bad opinion of the time, or they have the same opinion about virtue that Metellus had.

ad imperandum] 'To receive the orders of Metellus he was summoned to Tisidium.' It may be explained thus, 'he was summoned to Tisidium for the purpose of orders,' it being left to the reader to determine from the context who was to give the orders and who was to receive them. The site of Tisidium is unknown.—'flectere:' see c. 9.

digna timere] 'To fear what he deserved.' See Cat. c. 51.

gro bellum sumit. [Et] Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

63. Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia portendi haruspex dixerat; proinde quae animo agitabat fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissume experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura. At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat, ad quem capiundum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem

[*Et*] *Romae*] Cort omits 'Et.'—'decreverat:' the Senate gave him Numidia as his province, that is, as the place of his employment for B.C. 108, with the authority of proconsul.

63. *Per idem tempus*] The time is marked less accurately by the preposition 'per' than by the ablative (Kritz).—'per hostias:' he was sacrificing and attempting to learn his future fortune by the examination of the internal parts of the victims. Plutarch (Marius, c. 8) says that Marius did what Sallust tells us, after he had obtained leave to go to Rome (c. 73). Cort has 'supplicante.' If we take the ablative we must supply 'ei' with 'dixerat.'—'proinde—eventura:' this is what the haruspex told Marius, 'accordingly he should rely on the gods, and do every thing that he was thinking of.'—'prospere:' 'prospera,' Cort.

abunde] 'In abundance.' An adverb used like an adjective. Comp. Cat. c. 20, 'frustra.'

Arpini] He was born at Arpinum, now Arpino, Cicero's birth-place, in B.C. 157. Plutarch's Life of Marius tells the story of this rough soldier's early life (c. 3), and his subsequent fortunes. — 'stipendiis faciundis:' 'in military service.' He first served under Scipio in the Numantine war (c. 7), where he saw Jugurtha. Allen quotes Velleius ii. 9, "Quo quidem tempore juvenes adhuc Jugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere quae postea in contrariis facerent."—'Graeca facundia:' Plutarch says (c. 2), "It is stated that Marius never studied Greek literature, and never availed himself of the Greek language for any serious purpose, for he said it was ridiculous to study a literature the teachers of which were the slaves of others."—'inter artis bonas,' &c.: 'in the midst of good discipline his natural capacity soon grew to maturity unimpaired (integrum).' It was not spoiled nor corrupted.

tribunatum militarem] Since B.C. 362 part of the Tribuni militares were elected at the comitia.—'facile notus:' most of them had never seen Marius, but we must suppose that his acts had been talked of, and so when he was a candidate, his merits were soon made known to all.

a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit, semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir, nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est, petere non audebat. Etiamtum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

64. Igitur ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat. Cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re mirari ejus consi-

ab eo magistratu] He calls the office of Tribunus militaris a 'magistratus,' because it was conferred by the people.—'alium post alium:' Marius was elected Tribunus plebis in B.C. 119, and praetor four years afterwards.—'potestatibus:' 'in his offices.' 'Potestas' is the civil authority of a 'magistratus,' as opposed to 'imperium.' The Tribuni plebis had only 'potestas,' hence their power is named 'tribunitia potestas' (Cat. c. 38).

ad id locorum] 'Up to that time,' as in c. 72, 'post id locorum.' Sallust means here up to the time of the haruspex promising Marius success. —'praeceps datus:' see Cat. c. 37, 'praeceps erat.' — 'petere:' many recent editions insert 'consulatum' before 'petere,' but there is little authority for the word, and much against it.

alios—plebes] The only verb is 'tradebat.' He means however that the Plebes had the enjoyment of other Magistratus, but the nobility kept the consulship to themselves, or, as he says, 'passed it from hand to hand.' 'Tradere per manus' is a common expression. Allen cites Livy 5, c. 51, and 9, c. 17, "Disciplina militaris jam inde ab initiis urbis tradita per manus."

Novus] See c. 8. — 'egregiis:' 'egregius,' some MSS. and editions. —'quasi pollutus:' not 'honore pollutus' of course, but absolutely, 'an unclean person.'

64. *missionem*] 'Release from service.' Velleius (ii. 11) says that Marius only asked leave of absence ('commeatus').

optanda bonis] Comp. Cat. c. 10, 'divitiae optandae aliis.'—'superabant:' comp. Cat. c. 20, 'illis divitias superare.'—'contemptor animus:' comp. Cat. c. 4, 'animus audax,' &c.—'mirari:' 'he expressed surprise at his intention.'—'super fortunam:' 'above his state or condition;' alluding to Marius' origin. —'postremo caveret:' the subjunctive is often thus used when a man's words are reported: 'finally, he should (as Metellus said) take care not to ask for that which would be properly (jure) refused,' the consulship which the nobles wished to keep to themselves.—'ubi—per negotia,' &c.: 'as soon as the public interest would allow, he would do what Marius asked.' See Cat. c. 51, 'per senati decretum.'

lium, et quasi per amicitiam monere ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret; non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse; debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur. Postquam haec atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Mari flectitur, respondit ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica facturum sese quae peteret. Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, ne festinaret abire; satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum. Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat annos natus circiter viginti; quae res Marium quum pro honore quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira pessumis consultoribus grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret; milites quibus in hibernis praeerat laxiore imperio quam antea habere, apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod

ne festinaret abire] Allen omits 'abire,' and explains it thus, 'ne festinaret petere.'—'cum filio:' the son was Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. He was consul in B.C. 80; and he conducted the war in Spain against Sertorius.

contubernio patris] 'In the company of his father,' and under his care, as was usual with young Romans. The son was 'contubernalis,' and on his father's 'praetoria cohors' or staff. Suetonius (Caesar, c. 2) writes, "Stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi praetoris contubernio." See also Tacit. Agric. c. 5. —'quae res:' what Metellus said, and the fact of the youthful son being spoken of as qualified for the consulship as soon as Marius would be. The regular age at which a man was eligible to the consulship was forty three. It was a gross insult to Marius, who was near fifty, to tell him to wait three and twenty years. 'Ea res,' 'quae res' are often used by Caesar and others in order to refer to a sentence or to a fact or facts.

grassari] See c. 1. 'Grassari' is a frequentative form of 'gradi-or.' Here it means 'to set to work eagerly' (Jacobs). But 'cupidine atque ira' express also his impetuosity. —'ambitiosum:' adapted to gain the favour of the army. See c. 45.—'laxiore—habere:' comp. Cat. c. 11 and the note.—'negotiatores:' see Cat. c. 40.—'criminose:' 'in a way to blame' Metellus.—'si sibi permitteretur:' Cort omits 'si,' and he thinks that the omission is more elegant. There is no doubt that 'si' is sometimes omitted in such cases as this.—'trahi:' he said that the war was purposely prolonged by Metellus. Some MSS. have 'trahi bellum.'—'regiae superbiae:' 'a vain man, and as arrogant as a king.' The words king and kingly, as Kritz observes, conveyed to the Romans the notion of pride, cruelty, and all that was intolerable.

homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet. Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

65. Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam caussam mente paulum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti more regum ut sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat, honorem, quod eorum modo foret quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset, praesidium, quod contumeliosum [in eos] foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur atque hortatur ut contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse; si Jugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum; id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque et illum

res—corruperant] Literally, 'they had damaged their commercial interests.' He means that the continuance of the war had damaged trade and commerce, and consequently the 'negotiatores.'—'animo—festinatur:' 'for an eager temper nothing moves quick enough.' I suppose he means that the 'mercatores' were eager for an end of the war, and therefore they readily listened to the charge against Metellus.

65. *secundum—scripserat*] 'Heredem scribere' is a common expression, as well as 'heredem instituere,' c. 9. Hence the 'heres' or a 'heres,' who is made so by a will, is called 'heres scriptus.' A 'secundus heres' is one who is made 'heres' by a testament, and takes the succession ('hereditas'), if he who was named first 'heres' for any cause is unable or unwilling to take the 'hereditas' (Gaius ii. 116, &c., and 174, &c.; Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 47). Gauda, we may suppose, was to take the kingdom, if the sons of Micipsa and Jugurtha failed to take it, or died without children. Jugurtha then was now the only person who stood in Gauda's way. Gauda was Jugurtha's brother (c. 5).—'morbis confectus:' 'weakened by disease.' See c. 11, 'confectum annis,' and c. 10, 'morbo . . . confectus.'

sellam juxta] 'Place his seat near Metellus,' as a sign of his kingly rank.—'quod eorum foret:' 'because it belonged to those only to whom the Roman people had given the title of kings.' See c. 14, note on 'socium atque amicum.'

imperatoris] Some editions have 'imperatori.' This double genitive is not unusual. The sense is, 'Marius urges him to get satisfaction for the insults of the imperator to him.' See c. 14, note on 'in mea injuria.'—'secunda oratione:' speaking in a way to flatter and please the man.

et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissuma suffragatione consulatus petebatur; simul ea tempestate plebes nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

66. Interim Jugurtha, postquam omissa deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum, civitatis, quae ab se defecerant, formidine aut ostentando praemia affectare, communire suos locos, arma, tela, aliaque, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut commercari, servitia Romanorum allicere, et eos ipsos qui in praesidiis erant pecunia temptare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio Jugurtha pacificante praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant; nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein compositis inter se rebus in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem

equites Romanos] Some were 'milites' and some were 'negotiatores.'

honestissuma suffragatione] 'By votes most honourably given,' without bribery; or, as Allen says, 'during Marius' absence, when he did not seem to court the honour.'—'per legem Mamiliam:' this was the Rogatio (c. 40) or proposal for a Lex, which Rogatio had received the sanction of the Populus and was now a Lex.

66. *affectare*] 'To try to gain over.' See c. 64.—'quae—amiserat:' 'which he had given up in the hope of getting peace.' See c. 62.—'cuncta agitare:' 'set every thing in motion;' Sallust's way of winding up a statement with something which is to comprehend every thing else. He might as well have written &c. at the end, as Sterne often does, instead of his 'cuncta agitare.'

Vagenses, quo] 'The people of Vaga, in whose town (quo) Metellus had placed a garrison.' After 'Vagenses' he says 'principes,' 'the chief persons,' and so he corrects the general expression 'Vagenses' by the particular and limited term 'principes.' This is all that need be said on the supposed irregularity of the sentence, though the commentators have said more.

Caesar, B. C. i. 18, writes 'Sulmonenses quod oppidum,' which may be compared with 'Vagenses quo.'—'fatigati—suppliciis:' 'overpowered by the king's intreaties.' 'Prece, suppliciis fatigare' is a common expression.—'discordiosum:' this word does not occur again in the classical writers (Jacobs).

constituunt] 'They determine.'

Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militaris et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant, eos omnis praeter Turpilium inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantis, inermos quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

67. Romani milites, improviso metu incerti, ignarique quid potissumum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, praesidium hostium; portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissumis infirmissumo generi resisti posse; juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncari. In ea tanta asperitate saevissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit. Id misericordiane hospitis an pactione aut casu ita evenerit parum comperimus, nisi,

This verb might have an accusative or an infinitive mood after it, but Sallust has left us to supply 'to accomplish their plan.'—'formidinem ostentabat:' 'the festal day gave the Romans a promise that it would be a day of amusement and jollity, rather than any thing to alarm them.'—'quippe in tali die,' &c.: 'as was natural on such a day, and when they were released from strict discipline.' 'In' with the ablative marks not only the time, but the circumstances under which the thing happened. — 'acta — ignorantibus:' they could not be ignorant of what was done. Perhaps he means that they did not understand what the object was, but 'consilium' expresses that. — 'res novae — placebant:' 'change, novelty was enough for them (satis placebant)' without inquiring further.

67. *incerti*] A participle, 'not being able to form any plan.'—'ad arcem—praesidium:' the enemy had posted men at or in the citadel, where the Romans had left their arms. Cort has the passage thus,—'trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi . . . erant: praesidium hostium, portae . . . prohibebant.' Allen has 'trepidare: arcem oppidi, ubi . . . erant, praesidium hostium, portae . . . prohibebant,' &c.—'pro tectis:' on the roofs and on the part looking into the streets.

anceps malum] The danger from both sides, from the roofs of the houses and the people in the streets. The 'infirmissumo generi' are the women and children.

an pactione] Three possible cases are supposed. One case is, 'whether he escaped by means of some agreement,' which would imply that he was

quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

68. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paulisper moestus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurumos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postero die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quandam planitiem locis paulo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et jam abnuentis omnia docet oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse; decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis viris fortissumis atque miserrumis poenas caperent; praeterea praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis equites in primo late, pedites quam artissume ire et signa occultare jubet.

69. Vagenses ubi animum advortere ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, ut erat res, Metellum esse rati portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos qui primi aderant Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque repente signo dato, alii volgum effusum oppido caedere, alii ad portas festinare, pars turris capere, ira atque praedae spes amplius quam lassitudo

privy to the design of falling on the Romans.—'nisi—videtur:' see c. 24. This use of 'nisi' is elliptical. However we may supply the ellipsis, the sense is, 'except so far as this—that he must be considered a vile and infamous fellow, because' &c. 'Intestabilis' is an infamous man (Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 181). It legally means a man who is incapacitated for being a legal witness, from making a will, and from being a witness to a will (Gaius, Dig. 28. 1. 26; Ulpian, Dig. 28. 1. 18).

68. *pariter cum occasu*] The Romans also said simply 'occasu solis,' 'at sunset.'—'horam tertiam:' the third hour from sunrise, according to the Roman fashion of marking the time of the natural day, which was divided into twelve equal parts between sunrise and sunset.

mille passuum] 'Mille' is sometimes used as a noun in the singular as well as the plural. Sallust could have written 'mille passus.' See Caesar, B. G. i. 25. 'Amplius' is used absolutely without 'quam:' 'a thousand paces, no more.'—'benigne ostentat:' 'he generously holds out to them the prospect of booty.' See c. 66.

in primo] That is, 'in primo agmine.'—'late:' spreading themselves out, not close together.

69. *volgum*] The word is masculine here as in c. 73 (Jacobs).

posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia laetati; civitas magna et opulens cuncta poenae aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

70. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem quam metu deseruit inceperat, suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere, ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere, die noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia temptando socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso aut majoribus astricto superaverant; ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur; cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur. Is postquam magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tempus non venit metusque

ex perfidia laetati] 'Having had only two days' rejoicing as the result of their perfidy.'—'opulens:' an unusual form, equivalent to 'opulenta.' In c. 85 there is 'opulenter.'—'poenae aut praedae:' 'were punished with death or plundered.' 'Praedae fuit' is a usual form, and this perhaps led Sallust to use the unusual form 'poenae fuit.'

condemnatus — solvit] He was tried, condemned, whipped, and beheaded, for he was a Latin ('civis ex Latio'), not a Roman citizen. The Lex Porcia protected Roman citizens from this punishment (Cat. c. 51), at least at Rome. One would suppose that the Lex did not protect a Roman citizen during military service. The tribune M. Livius Drusus "brought forward a measure which forbade any Latin to be beaten with rods while serving in the army" (Plut. C. Gracchus, c. 9). Plutarch (Marius, c. 8) says of the trial of Turpilius, "Marius who was present at the trial as an assessor, was violent against him, and excited most of the rest, so that Metellus was unwillingly compelled to pronounce sentence of death against the man." He adds, "shortly after, it appeared that the charge was false."

70. *deditionem*] See c. 62.—'suspiciens:' equivalent to 'suspectum habens,' as the critics say (c. 71).—'fatigare:' 'animum' is 'animum suum.' See 66.—'seorsum:' that is 'se vorsum,' 'separate,' 'distinct,' and as an independent commander.—'quae—superaverant:' 'which had been more than Jugurtha could do, when he was wearied or engaged with more important matters.'

ex tempore] 'As opportunity might offer.'—'inultis hostibus:' 'without the enemy being made to suffer for it.'

rem impediebat, Bomilcar, simul cupidus incepta patrandi et timore soci anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio novum quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos juravisset, monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem convorteret; Jugurthae exitium adesse; ceterum suane an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret cum animo suo praemia an cruciatum mallet.

71. Sed quum hae litterae allatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, ut aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum nisi novissumi particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit, dormiente illo epistolam super caput in pulvino temere positam sumit ac perlegit, dein propere cognitis insidiis ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa post paulo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam repperit et rem omnem, ut acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit; dicit quae ipse paravisset facere perfidia clientis sui praeventa; lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

72. Ad ea rex aliter atque animo gerebat placide

timore soci] 'His associate's fear.' —'in quis:' Cort omits these words, and also 'monere' after 'juravisset.' —'ne praemia,' &c.: 'he advised him not to act in such a way as to convert the rewards which Metellus had promised (c. 61) into causes of his ruin.' He means that as he would have the rewards if he succeeded, so he would not get them and would be ruined, if he did not accomplish what he had undertaken for Metellus. The words 'proinde reputaret—mallet' explain the meaning.—'suane:' the 'virtus' of Bomilcar and Nabdalsa, or Nabdalsa only.

71. *exercito — fessus*] 'Wearied *by bodily* exercise.' The Latin passive participle admits and requires a great variety in translation.—'ubi cognitis:' 'ubi' refers to 'in lecto quiescentem,' 'and as he lay there.'

opera aut ingenio] 'That there was occasion for him to do or think of something;' the letter, he supposed, would furnish the occasion.

id frustra] See c. 8.—'dicit quae ipse paravisset facere:' he pretended that he was going to inform Jugurtha of the plot. Cort omits 'dicit' and 'facere.' — 'super tali scelere:' the common form in Sallust's time would have been 'de tali.' After Sallust's time 'super' was often used in this way.

72. *animo gerebat*] The same as

respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, civis hostisque juxta metuere, circumspectare omnia et omni strepitu pavescere, alio atque alio loco saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

73. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes litteris quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant cognitis volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori fuit, invidiae esse; at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat; ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata.

'animo agitabat,' c. 11.—'iram oppresserat:' 'had disguised or checked his anger.'

post id locorum] 'After matters had come to this pass.' See c. 63.

tumultum facere] 'He would make an alarm,' as if he thought that he was attacked.

73. *indicio patefacto*] The same in sense, says Jacobs, as 're per indicium patefacta.'—'tamquam ad integrum bellum:' 'as if he had to begin the war afresh.'

fatigantem] 'Wearying Metellus with his importunity.'—'et invitum —ratus:' 'at the same time thinking that as Marius was staying against his own inclination, and was offended with him, that he was of no use.' There is a reading 'invisum' in place of 'invitum.' 'Idoneum' is used absolutely as it often is. (Cat. c. 39. Jug. c. 62.)—'domum dimittit:' 'he let him go,' says Plutarch (Marius, c. 8), 'only twelve days before the consuls would be declared.' "Marius accomplished the long journey from the camp to Utica, on the coast, in two days and one night;" on which we may remark that Plutarch tells us more than Sallust. He informs us that Metellus was some distance in the interior. Marius reached Rome or Italy in four days from Utica.

litteris] See c. 65. — 'volenti animo:' 'gladly;' it was just what they wished. Cort says that 'volenti animo' is the dative, and that it means 'quae erant animo eorum volenti, de ambobus acceperant.' See c. 84.

moderata] 'Sunt' must be supplied. He means 'in forming their judgment of each, it was rather party spirit than the good or bad qualities of Marius and Metellus which governed men's opinions.' 'Moderata' means 'fixed the measure' of men's judgments. See 'moderatum,' c. 45.

Praeterea seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere, Mari virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa ut opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita perculsa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur; et postea populus a tribuno plebis Manlio Mancino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paulo ante Metello [Numidiam] decreverat; ea res frustra fuit.

74. Eodem tempore Jugurtha amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant, quum neque

seditiosi magistratus] The tribunes, as Kritz remarks, who inflamed the people ('omnibus contionibus') by their public harangues. They would have addressed them in newspapers too, if there had been any newspapers at that time.—'volgum:' see c. 69.—'capitis arcessere:' 'to charge him with capital offences;' capital in the Roman sense, such offences as if proved would have affected his caput or civil condition. 'Capitis arcessere' is an elliptical expression. Cicero (de Off. ii. 14) writes "ne quem unquam innocentem judicio capitis arcessas;" and pro Rabirio, c. 9, "eodem crimine in summum capitis periculum arcessere." Cicero (pro Deiotaro, c. 11) has 'capitis arcessere.'—'in majus celebrare:' 'to magnify.'

res fidesque] 'All their property and all their credit.' So the Romans said 'res spes' (Cat. c. 20 and 21).—'in manibus:' all they had was in their hands, in their daily labour. See Cat. c. 37.—'frequentarent:' 'were often about him,' 'followed him.' See Cat. c. 14.—'post—ducerent:' 'postponed their own necessary wants to looking after his election (honorem).' Jacobs compares '*ante facta* sua ponerent,' c. 15.

post multas tempestates] 'After a long interval.' See Cat. c. 53, and Jug. c. 96.—'consulatus:' for the year B.C. 107, with L. Cassius Longinus for his colleague. See c. 32.—'novo homini:' see Cat. c. 23, note.—'rogatus:' hence the proposed Lex was called a Rogatio. The people were asked in form what their pleasure was. Allen has 'quem vellent,' on the authority of Harl. 11.—'frequens:' 'by a great majority,' or it may mean that Marius' voters came in crowds, and it is implied that there was a majority.

decreverat] The Senate had determined to continue Metellus in his African command, but the resolution of the Senate was frustrated by the popular vote. It has been inferred from two passages in Cicero (pro Balbo, c. 27, ad Fam. i. 7), that the Lex Sempronia de Provinciis (c. 27) contained a provision which prevented the Senate from prolonging a man's provincial government. Cort omits 'Numidiam,' which is not found in the best MSS. We must then supply 'bellum cum Jugurtha gerendum.'—'frustra:' see c. 7 and 71.

74. *Bocchum*] See c. 19.—'in tanta perfidia:' see Cat. c. 2.—

bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat. Neque illi res, neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat; itinera praefectosque in dies mutare, modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere, saepe in fuga, ac post paulo in armis spem habere, dubitare virtuti an fide popularium minus crederet; ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit; Numidae ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique; dein proelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae affuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum; ceteri ejus omnes milites primo congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti; nam ferme Numidas in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

75. Ea fuga Jugurtha impensius modo rebus suis

'varius agitabat:' see 'laeta agere,' c. 55, and 'vagos agitare,' c. 19.

fide] One form of the dative. See c. 16.—'quocumque intenderat:' 'whichever way he turned his thoughts.'

ceteri ejus omnes] 'The rest of his soldiers all,' which is a more emphatic way of saying 'all the rest.' Cort has 'ceteri omnes [ejus milites],' and he thinks that the words 'ejus milites' are 'insulsa et Glossatoribus digna.' Allen omits 'omnes ejus milites,' and adds that 'omnes' is omitted in nine MSS. We should certainly lose nothing by omitting these words, but it is difficult to determine whether 'omnes' was written by Sallust and omitted by some copyists, or was added by the copyists. As to 'ejus milites,' there is no MSS. authority, so far as I know, for omitting them, though these words are not placed in the same order in all the MSS. Cort also writes 'concursu' for 'congressu,' and he thinks that 'concursu' is much more appropriate. Both words are used. 'Primo concursu' or 'congressu' means, as he says, 'at the very beginning of the engagement:' 'generatim Latini per adjectum *primus* initium cujusque rei exprimere solent,' which is true.

aliquanto numero] The pure adjective form of this word occurs also in c. 105, and in a fragment of Sallust's Hist. (2. 29, Kritz) (Jacobs). Sallust first uses 'potiri' with an ablative and then with a genitive, as in c. 25, 'uti prius Adherbalis potiretur.' Kritz observes that when an author is speaking of human beings, he generally uses 'potiri' with a genitive; which may be true.—'tuta sunt:' 'tutata sunt,' Allen.

75. *impensius modo*] See c. 47.—'multus—cultus:' 'many stores for the use of his young children.' See Cat. c. 48, note.—'Thalam—quinquaginta:' 'in spatio,' 'within a distance of fifty thousand paces' ('passuum' being understood). Cort omits 'in.' But Kritz compares Caesar, B. G. vi. 36, where 'in millibus passuum tribus' is used in the same way.

Sallust, who is a careless writer, has not told us where Metellus defeated Jugurtha, and perhaps he did

diffidens cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum in spatio milium quinquaginta loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet nisi frumento dierum decem; ceterum utris modo et alia aquae idonea portari. Praeterea conquirit ex agris quam plurumum potest domiti pecoris, eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurumum quisque aquae portaret; diem locumque ubi praesto fuerint praedicit; ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat; eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque

not know. He says that there was no river nearer Thala than fifty miles. Shaw (p. 122, 2nd ed.) thinks that Thala may be Ferre-anah, a place about one degree south of Sicca. It has also been conjectured that Thala is the place which is mentioned by later writers under the name of Telepte. There was a road from Tacape on the Syrtis Minor through Capsa to Telepte. Pellissier (Description de Tunis, p. 290) thinks that it is probable that the few remains near Feriana, as he writes it, at a place which the Arabs call the old town (Medina-el-Kedima), are those of the Telepte mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, and by Procopius and Saint Cyprian. But he does not admit the identity of Telepte and Thala, and there is no reason that I can see for admitting this identity. Pellissier identifies a place called Thala by the Arabs with the Thala of Sallust, but he does not describe the position of the modern Thala. It is however in the Byzacium.

levari jubet] Allen has 'levare jubet,' for which there is authority. He proves what nobody will dispute, that 'levare jubet' is a common form, and that we may have the passive infinitive in the other member of the sentence, as in Cat. c. 51, 'dimitti . . . et augere.'

nisi &c.] 'Except ten days' corn:' so 'nisi' is used.—'ceterum:' 'as to the rest,' 'besides that,' besides the corn he orders only skins and other things fit for holding water to be carried.

eoque] 'on the beasts.' See c. 47, 'huc . . . imponit,' and c. 66, 'Vagenses . . . quo.'

quam—aquam] 'From the river, which, as I have said, was the nearest water to the town (Thala).' The relative 'quam' agrees with 'aquam,' the following noun, instead of agreeing with 'flumen.' This is a common construction.

sunt, tanta repente coelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior, quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi, eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die contra opinionem Jugurthae ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi nihilo segnius bellum parare; idem nostri facere.

76. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit, neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus simulabat sese negoti gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat; nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere et super aggerem

vis aquae] See c. 53, 'vis pulveris.'—'ea modo:' 'that alone,' or 'that only' without any more.

in nova deditione] 'As most people do when the submission is still fresh.' It does not mean a 'new submission.' As to 'in' and the ablative see Cat. c. 2.—'officia intenderant:' 'had increased their zeal,' made all efforts.

religione—usi] One MS. has 'pro religione,' and another has 'ex religione.' "The soldiers considered the rain rather as an omen.' They were more encouraged by the fact of the rain, than by the use of the rain.

postero die] On the day after the storm, perhaps; or else on the day after setting out. There is a false reading 'postremo die.' But it is not possible that the soldiers could have made the march in two days, if they took their heavy material with them. They would hardly find on the spot all that they wanted for a siege; nor would a careful general have allowed all his material to follow after the army.

76. *nihil jam infectum*] 'Nothing that he could not do.' Compare 'incorruptus,' c. 2, and 'coercitum,' c. 91.—'naturam ipsam:' sc. 'humanam,' i. e. 'modum virium humanarum.' Caesar, B. G. vi. 44, writes 'ut . . . paene naturam studio vincerent.' 'Ceteris' means 'every body else.'—'ceterum:' this is opposed to 'simulabat.' There was first of all a pretence ('simulatio'), but all the rest was reality, a fear of treachery.—'nam—capi:' this is put in the infinitive as a general remark, which also occurred to Jugurtha, 'for he knew or thought (putabat) that' &c.

locis—idoneis] 'In the most convenient places which circumstances

impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta quam eo ventum erat oppido modo potiti, praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Hi postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas afflictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia quae prima ducuntur domum regiam comportant; ibi vino et epulis onerati illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt, et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

77. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore. Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impe-

(ex copia) allowed.' Compare c. 39, 'ex copia rerum,' and Cat. c. 54, note. — 'aggerem jacere:' they formed the embankment on which the towers were to be placed as in Caesar (B. G. ii. 30), "ubi vineis actis, aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui viderunt." — 'opus:' 'all the works,' and 'the men employed about them (administros).'

nihil reliquum] 'Nothing was left undone.' Same as 'nihil reliqui.'

post dies—quam] 'Forty days after their arrival there.' The more usual form is in c. 102, 'post diem quintum quam.'—'oppido modo:' 'only the town,' 'the town and no more.'—'corrupta:' 'spoiled,' made useless. "Frumenti . . . reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt," Caesar, B. G. vii. 55.

arietibus feriri] After the battering ram had struck the wall, no terms would be offered to the besieged. The town would be plundered and the men killed. "Se . . . eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius quam murum aries attigisset se dedidissent," Caesar, B. G. ii. 32, and see Cicero, de Off. i. 11.—'quas victi:' the penalty which they had dreaded from the enemy if they should be taken ('victi'). Cort writes 'metuerent.' There is also a reading 'meruerant.' Sallust, I think, simply means that the men put themselves to death to avoid being put to death by the Romans. Cort supposes that they expected to be burnt alive as some cavalry of Scipio in the African war (Bell. Afric. c. 87) burnt the inhabitants of a town which they took.

77. *Lepti*] Leptis Major (c. 19). —'factiosum:' see c. 8.—'illorum socios:' that is 'Romanorum socios.'

ea] That is 'friendship and alliance.'—'nave:' the opposite word is 'ignave' ('ingnave'). The proper orthography is 'gnave,' but it was the fashion in Cicero's time to drop the *g*. "*Noti* erant et *navi* et *nari*,

trata, semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia Albino Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti. Missae eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor et C. Annius praefectus.

78. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos venisse; ceterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt, cetera, uti fors tulit, alta, alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse et

quibus cum *in* praeponi oporteret, dulcius visum est *ignoti ignavi ignari* dicere quam ut veritas postulabat" (Cic. Or. c. 47). The common adverbial form is 'gnaviter.' Cort has 'navi,' for which there is authority.

Missae] Jacobs, who has 'emissae,' says "it appears from what has been said that Leptis at this time did not yet belong to the Province Africa. Accordingly this verb stands in its proper sense 'to send out,' that is, out of the Province." We may safely conclude that Leptis was not at this time included in the Province; but I doubt if the explanation of 'emissae' is correct. But several MSS. have 'missae,' a much more simple and intelligible reading. Allen, who has 'missae,' says that he thinks that the reading 'emissae' has arisen either from 'et missae' or 'eo missae,' for some MSS. do not place the 'eo' after 'missae.'

78. *Sidoniis*] The people of Sidon, one of the old Phoenician towns on the coast north of Tyrus. The Leptis which is between the two gulfs is Leptis Magna or Major.—'Syrtis, quibus nomen:' he seems to derive the name from the Greek word σύρειν, to draw, for he says afterwards 'fluctus trahunt,' and 'Syrtis a tractu nominatae.' But the name Syrt has doubtless some other origin.

in extrema Africa] He means that extremity of Africa, which borders on Egypt.—'quorum proxuma:' 'of which gulfs the parts nearest to the land are very deep, the rest as chance has it, at one time ('alia tempestate,' understood) deep, at another time shallow.' The Syrtis Major lies between the promontory Boreum on the east and Cephalae, or the Heads, on the west. It is now the Gulf of Sidra. The smaller Syrtis, now the Gulf of Cabes or Khabs, lies between the Promontory Zeitha on the south and the Promontory Brachodes or Caput Vada on the north. It contains the islands Meninx and Cercina. The gulf of Sidra is shallow, and as it is open to the north the navigation is dangerous when the wind blows from that quarter. The smaller Syrtis lies open to the east winds, which make the navigation dangerous on this flat coast.

mare magnum] When the sea swells, a consequence of the wind blowing on shore. Lucretius perhaps uses 'magnum' in this sense (ii. 1),

"Suave mari magno turbantibus
aequora ventis,"

as Servius remarks (Ad Aen. v. 628).—'saevire ventis:' or 'saevire' without 'ventis,' as in Caesar, B. G. iii. 14, 'quum saevire ventus coepisset.'—'facies locorum:' he is speaking of the sea, and the 'facies locorum' must mean the bottom of the sea. In these shallow gulfs when

saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ngentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatae. Ejus civitatis lingua modo convorsa connubio Numidarum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

79. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare; eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraque Africa imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie; neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes saepe fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant, veriti ne mox victos victoresque

the waves were high, it would be difficult to sound. Allen writes 'locorum cum ventis mutat.'

lingua modo] 'Their language only' was changed by intermarriage with the Numidians. If the Sidonians lost their language, their numbers must have been small; and if they lost their language, it is probable that they would lose a good deal more.—'legum—pleraque:' most of their institutions and ways of living. So 'pleraque' is sometimes used. Cort has 'leges cultusque pleraque,' which is perhaps better. He observes that though 'leges' is the nominative, 'cultus' may still be the genitive. These Leptitani had no kings of their own, or were under no foreign king, for there was none nearer than the Numidian, and they were a long way from him.—'frequentem:' see c. 61.

79. *eam rem—admonuit*] This digression is quite foreign to the matter. 'Since,' he says, 'we have been brought to these countries by speaking of the affairs of the Leptitani, it appears to be worth while to record.' 'Admonuit' is one of the verbs which are used with a double accusative. Cort omits 'nos.'

pleraque Africa] 'In the greater part of Africa.' So the Romans wrote 'cuncta Asia.' Cort has 'pleraeque Africae.'—'Cyrenenses:' the Greek colony of Cyrene was east of the Great Syrtis, and the Cyrenenses having the superiority over all the Greek settlements in these parts, the name Cyrenaica was given to the tract extending from the borders of Marmarica on the east to the southern part of the Great Syrtis.

in medio] Between the Cyrenenses and Carthaginienses.—'una specie:' 'uniform.'—'quae res:' this is the usual Latin expression, when the reference is to a fact or facts and not to a single word. One would have supposed that the desert itself would have formed a good boundary. If there had been nothing except the bare sand to quarrel about, the two states might have lived on good terms.—'habuit:' 'kept.' Comp. c. 94, 'intentos . . . habuerat.'

defessos alius aggrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur. Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane an casu acciderit parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere; nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet, ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginiensis ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique omnia malle quam victi abire. Sed quum Poeni aliam condicionem tantummodo aequam peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur, vel eadem condicione sese quem in locum vellent processuros. Philaeni condicione probata seque vitamque suam rei publicae con-

sponsionem faciunt] Make an agreement. 'Sponsio' is a Roman term used to denote a contract made by formal words.

quibus — Philaenis] The usual form, like Virgil's 'cui nomen Iulo.' —'iter pergere:' as 'pergere' is 'perregere,' to direct through, to the end, we can understand the accusative, though 'pergere' is generally used absolutely. 'Maturant' followed by an infinitive as in Cat. c. 36, 'Catilinam persequi maturet.'

parum cognovi] Very likely. If he had inquired, and perhaps he did not, he would not easily have found a man to tell him.—'ceterum:' 'however.' This leads to a suggestion that a sandstorm delayed the Cyrenenses, as it often stops ('solet—retinere') travellers.

loca aequalia] 'Level parts.' See Cat. c. 54 note on 'aequalia.'—'nuda gignentium:' 'bare of all plants.' Compare c. 93.

aliquanto posteriores] When they met, the Cyrenenses found that they met sooner than they expected, and he expresses this by saying that the 'Cyrenenses were somewhat later.' —'ob rem corruptam:' 'for having spoiled the business.'—'criminari:' they charge the Carthaginians with setting out from Carthage before the time which was fixed ('ante tempus'); a charge which one party would certainly make, as it was a necessary consequence of this clumsy arrangement.

tantummodo aequam] 'Provided it was a fair condition.'—'optionem Carthaginiensium:' 'give the Carthaginians the choice.' Cort omits 'ut' before 'vel.' He does not say what the MSS. have.—'quos—ibi:' that they, the Carthaginians, should be buried alive on the spot ('ibi'), which they claimed as a boundary, 'quos fines' referring to 'ibi,' and the relative grammatically agreeing with the following noun.

donavere; ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere, aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

80. Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit, quis adjutoribus regem aggressus impellit ut advorsum Romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat foedus et amicitiam petitum, quam rem opportunissumam incepto bello pauci impediverant caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Et jam antea Jugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli pro opibus quisque quam plurumas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent, sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet, pariter omnes viles sunt.

condonavere] 'Gave up.' The verb 'condonare' has another meaning also, from which we have taken our 'condone.' Cat. c. 52, note.

Philaenis—aras] There was a place on the Great Syrtis named Philaenorum Arae or Φιλαίνων βωμοί, which the reader will see put down in any map of this part of Africa.

80. *Gaetulos*] See c. 18.

ordines habere] He attempted to bring them into Roman discipline.

Bocchi proxumos] The intimates. See Cat. c. 14, 'Catilinae proxumi familiaresque.'

proniusque] 'Readier,' like a descent and not an ascent. See c. 11. — 'honesta atque inhonesta:' simply 'every thing.' See Cat. c. 30. Bocchus had asked for the Roman alliance, but it had been refused through the intrigues of some greedy men, who were used to sell every thing. He does not say how the greedy men prevented this, or why. It may have been because Bocchus gave them nothing, but if Sallust means that, he should have said so.

sed reges eo amplius] 'But kings the more.' The greater the means of kings are, the more (in the like proportion more) they have wives. According to this, a man had as many women as he could afford to keep.

animus multitudine] The mind or affection of the husband is distracted (in the Latin sense) by a number of wives. He cannot love all, and Sallust concludes that 'not one holds the place of a companion:' 'obtinet' may have 'locum' supplied, or it is, as Kritz says, equiva-

81. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi fide data et accepta Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse; eandem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna advorsa sint; tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item Persen regem, post, uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus aut capta urbe operae pretium fore, aut si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat Bocchi pacem imminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

82. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; ceterum

lent to 'valet.' There is a reading 'nullam.' Sallust writes like a Roman. The Greeks and the Italian nations, so far as we know, only allowed a man one wife. The rich Galli in Caesar's time had more than one if they chose, and the Mauri and Numidians, as we are told here, might have as many wives as they could afford to keep. I do not know if polygamy is the fashion now in this part of Africa among any who are not Mohammedans. Sallust's remark that where there are many wives, not one of them will be like a companion to the husband, is true. He may have a favourite, and then the rest of the wives will be jealous; and a favourite's place is uncertain. Niebuhr reports an amusing conversation which he had with a Mulla at Rumahîe near the Euphrates. The man had four wives, and each wife had a house and garden of her own. The man had no house and he wanted none, for he found at each wife's house something to eat and a lodging. One of his wives complained of the man liking the others better than herself; she said that she saw very little of him. Niebuhr asked the man whether he was happier when he had only one wife, or when he had four; but, as is usual with Mohammedans when such a question was put, he would not answer it fairly (Niebuhr, Reisebeschreibung, &c., ii. 254).

81. *profunda*] 'Deep,' like a gulf which cannot be filled.

tum sese] "Where *nunc* must be written in the 'directa oratio,' *tum* is written in the 'obliqua.' Jug. c. 83 and 102" (Kritz).—'Persen regem:' Cat. c. 51.—'capta—fore:' 'if the city were taken, it would reward them for their trouble.'—'id—festinabat:' 'he was eager about this only, to damage or impair Bocchus' friendly relations with the Romans.' 'Id' depends on 'festinare,' and 'Bocchi pacem imminuere' explains 'id.'

82. *pugnandi copiam facit*] 'Gives him an opportunity of fighting.'—'haud procul ab Cirta:' we last heard of Metellus being at Thala (c.

haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis reges opperitur, melius esse ratus cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Quis rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus neque lacrumas tenere neque moderari linguam; vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. Nobis satis cognitum est illum magis honore Mari quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

83. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum, ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere eum magnam copiam societatis

77), wherever Thala is. He was now near Cirta or Constantina, which is a great distance, about 180 Roman miles direct distance from Telepte or Thelepte, which, as already said, some suppose to be the same as Thala. But wherever Thala was, it was a long way from Cirta, and nothing is said to explain why Metellus had gone to Cirta.—'cognitis Mauris:' i. e. 'si antea cognovisset' (Kritz). He means after 'finding out what kind of men the Mauri were;' but it is not clear.—'ex commodo:' 'at his own advantage.'

provinciam Numidiam] 'That Numidia had been given to Marius as or for his Provincia,' as the place in which he was to exercise his authority.

supra bonum atque honestum] 'More than was right and dignified,' or 'consistent with his dignity.'—'in aliis artibus:' 'in other qualities.'—'aegritudinem:' 'vexation.' Cicero says (Tusc. iii. 10), "molestiam, sollicitudinem, angorem, propter similitudinem corporum aegrorum aegritudinem nominaverunt," and "ut aegrotatio in corpore, sic aegritudo in animo nomen habet non sejunctum a dolore."

Quam rem] This refers to Metellus' behaviour. See c. 79.—'in superbiam vortebant:' 'interpreted as a proof of his pride.' After the second 'alii' we must suppose some other verb understood, as 'said' or 'thought.'

injuria sua] 'At the wrong done to him.' Compare 'injuriae suae,' 'his wrongs,' Cat. c. 51, and Jug. c. 14, note on 'in mea injuria.'

traderetur] Kritz says that 'tradita esset' would be the more usual expression. But I think that he is mistaken. The Romans would not use 'tradita esset' when they were speaking of a thing which is accomplished.

83. *eum magnam*] The reading 'tum magnam' may be safely rejected.—'quae potior—esset:' several MSS. have 'quae potiora essent.'—'incerta pro certis:' this expression occurs in Cat. c. 20, but with the verb 'captarem.' Seven MSS.

amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset; quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere; non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse; incipere cuivis etiam ignavo licere; deponi quum victores velint; proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthae perditis misceret. Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura. Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit; ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

84. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissuma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare, singulos modo, modo universos laedere; dictitare sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia ce-

quoted by Allen have 'certa pro incertis.' As 'mutare' is used with an accusative and an ablative Allen writes 'certa incertis mutare.'—'omne bellum—quum victores velint:' he has said that any war was easy to begin, but very hard for it to end; that the beginning and end of it were not in the same man's power; that any one, even a coward, can begin a war; that a war is ended only when the conquerors choose. Sallust's remarks are well enough, but the Mauritanian king would have been more moved by the last words 'neu florentis — misceret,' than by the good remarks which precede them. Sallust may have had in his mind the wise speech of King Archidamus (Thucyd. i. 80).

si eadem illi] 'If the same offer (copia) were made to him (Jugurtha), then every thing would be settled.' Tacitus (Hist. iii. 8), quoted by Allen, has the same expression, 'omnia conventura.'

Rursus imperator] 'In answer, in his turn sends a message in reply to the demands of Bocchus.' 'He accepted some, he rejected others:' 'probare, partim abnuere,' Cort.—'bellum—trahi:' the Romans said 'bellum trahitur,' a 'war is protracted' ('ab imperatore consulto trahi,' c. 64). Here he says, 'the war is prolonged intact,' and we must guess his meaning, which is perhaps this, 'he left the war alone and so it was prolonged.'

84. *cupientissuma plebe*] 'All the Plebes being most zealous for him.'—'ei—populus jussit:' 'jubere' is the word which expresses the popular will (Cat. c. 29), and Kritz says, i. e. 'ei—decrevit.' But 'decrevit' is a term applied to an act of the Senate, not of the Populus (c. 73, 'senatus—Metello—decreverat').—'multus:' 'violently,' see c. 96. It is true that the notion of 'much' or 'many' may still be in the word, but it signifies a great deal of something which the context indicates.—'illis dolentia:' painful to them, or vexatious.

pisse; alia praeterea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Interim quae bello opus erant prima habere; postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere, praeterea ex Latio fortissumum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis [secum proficisci]. Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam omnibus quae postulaverat decretis milites scribere volt, hortandi caussa, simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, contionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit:

85. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et postquam adepti sunt gerere; primo industrios, supplicis, modicos esse, dein per igna-

supplementum] See c. 39. Caesar uses the word (B. G. vii. 7).—'et regibus:' if Sallust had told us what kings, we should have better means of judging whether he tells the truth or is merely turning a phrase, when he writes 'populis et regibus.' The Socii were the Italian dependent states.—'ex Latio:' the Latini, the nomen Latinum.—'militiae:' 'in war.' It is not the genitive, but the case of locality, and the old form was 'militiai.'—'ambiundo' &c.: 'by soliciting he urged men to set out with him who had served their time (emeritis stipendiis).' See Cat. 59. Cort thinks that the words 'secum proficisci' have been added by a copyist, and I think that he is right. See 'cogere' c. 54 and 95.—'quia neque' &c.: the Senate had passed a resolution which enabled Marius to raise a 'supplementum,' and they did so 'because the service was not supposed to be agreeable to the Plebes, and that Marius (consequently) would either lose what he wanted for the war (usum belli, the supplementum), or the favour of the people (if they were compelled to serve).' 'Plebi volenti' is supposed to be a Greek form, like the passage in Thucydides (ii. 3, quoted by Cort), *τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιέων οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι.*

animis trahebant] In c. 93 there is 'trahere cum animo.' There is 'animo gerebat' c. 72, which is easier to translate, because it is more like our expression. But 'animis trahebant' allows no literal translation. It is something like this, 'and other things of the kind were passing in their minds.'

85. *Quirites*] This is the term by which the popular assembly was addressed in Rome. 'Quirites' is 'Roman citizens.' If a general ad-

viam et superbiam aetatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videtur; nam quo pluris est universa res publica quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura illam administrari quam haec peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo vostro beneficio negoti sustineam. Bellum parare simul et aerario parcere, cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere, domi forisque omnia curare, et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me convorsa esse, aequos bonosque favere—quippe mea bene facta rei publicae procedunt,—nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius annitendum est, uti neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vostra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea ut accepta mercede deseram non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optumis artibus

dressed his soldiers, he said 'milites' or 'Romani.'—'artibus:' see Cat. c. 2.

mihi contra ea videtur] 'But I have a different opinion.' 'Ea' is the accusative. Jacobs compares 'supra ea,' Cat. c. 3. 'Contra ea' means the same as if he had said 'contrarium.'—'nam—debere:' the word 'videtur' must be supplied.

vostro beneficio] See c. 31.

opinione — asperius] 'Is more painful than you can suppose.'

cognatorum et affinium] Kinsmen and relations by marriage. We have 'affinitas' in the Roman sense, but we have no word corresponding to 'affinis.'—'clientelae:' clients, dependents.

rei publicae procedunt] 'Are for the advantage of the state.' Kritz compares Livy 24, c. 26, 'si Andranodoro consilia processissent.' Allen says that 'rei publicae' depends on 'bene facta,' and it may be so.—'locum invadendi:' 'an opportunity for attacking me.'

capiamini] 'Be caught,' deceived, and so captured and reduced to submission to the nobility.—'frustra sint:' 'be frustrated.' Cat. c. 20.

gratuito] 'Without reward.'—'ut—deseram:' depends on 'non est consilium:' 'it is not my intention to' &c. Sallust (Cat. c. 4) has 'non fuit consilium—conterere.'

in potestatibus] See Jug. c. 63.—'temperare:' 'sibi temperare' is the common form.—'bene facere—vortit:' 'acting right has by custom become my nature.' He does not spare his own praise. 'Vortit' is used like 'in miseriam convortet,' Cat. c. 52.

egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis, quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vostris, num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendi, scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem offici sui. Ita plerumque evenit ut quem vos imperatorem jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint, praeposteri homines; nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque generosissumum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini aut

id mutari] 'For this change to be made,' my appointment to the command. He explains what the change might be by the words 'si quem—mittatis.'—'prosapiae:' 'lineage,' 'descent.' The etymology of the word is uncertain. Cicero calls it an old word.—'imaginum:' the 'imagines' are the figures with masks of wax which a 'nobilis' had the right of setting up in the 'atrium' of his house. They were the masks of his ancestors, including the man who first attained a curule office and so ennobled his descendants.—'nullius stipendi:' a man who had seen no service.

imperatorem jussistis] 'Elected,' for 'jubere,' as already observed, expresses the popular will. Kritz quotes Livy (i. 17), 'quum populus regem jussisset,' and Livy iii. 30.

ego scio] Kritz explains this by 'novi, cognovi.' But he means 'I know that there are men.'—'praeposteri:' 'men who put last what ought to be first.'—'nam gerere' &c.: 'for to administer well comes after being made a (magistratus) in order of time, but in fact and in actual experience it is before.' He means that if a man does administer well, he must be qualified before he is elected, and must not have to learn after he is elected.

hominem novum] See Cat. c. 23. Shortly after he says 'novitas,' the condition of a 'novus.'

Quamquam—sed] He has said that his enemies despise one thing in him, and that he despises another thing in them. He adds, 'However it may be, I think all men's nature is the same, but the bravest are the noblest,' of the noblest stock (genus).

Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? Quodsi jure me despiciunt, faciunt idem majoribus suis, quibus uti mihi ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vostros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter exspectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam quum apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant. Quod contra est. Nam quantum vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet; majorum gloria posteris [quasi] lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam fateor, Quirites; verum, id quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt, scilicet quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe peperisse melius est quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maxumo vostro beneficio quum

innocentiae] 'Integrity,' and specially, freedom from the corrupting power of money.

Verum, &c.] This refers to 'ergo invideant.' They should envy my toils and merits, but they do not, as their acts show.

falsi sunt] 'Are deceived.' See c. 10, 'falsum me habuit.'

Quod contra est] 'But it is just the contrary.'—'Nam quantum:' this is Cort's reading. Some editions have 'nam quanto.'

Hujusce rei] 'Haec res' like 'quae res' refers to a fact or a sentence. The 'hujusce rei' is what he has just said.

inopiam fateor] 'Inopiam patior,' Cort, who says nothing about the readings; nor does Allen, who also has 'patior.'

Quod—arrogant] 'What they claim by reason of the merit of others.' They claim the honours of the state.—'facundam:' 'facundiam,' Allen.

compositam] See Cat. c. 51.

in—beneficio] 'But since while you are conferring your greatest favour on me, they on all occasions,' &c.—'non—reticere,' &c.: 'I have not thought fit to hold my peace, lest any one should interpret modest behaviour into a consciousness (of demerit or blame).' See Cat. c. 23, note on 'reticere.'

omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest; quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet, falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed quoniam vostra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maxumum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum poenitundum sit. Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare, at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona, praeterea cicatrices advorso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae egomet plurumis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit; illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecas didici; parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma rei publicae doctus sum, hostem ferire, praesidia agitare, nihil metuere nisi turpem famam, hiemem et aestatem juxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte colam, me

ex animi mei sententia] 'As I can truly affirm.' This was a standing Roman formula by which they expressed a complete conviction; as in the case when the censor pursuant to his duty said to a man, 'ut tu ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes,' and the joker replied, 'Habeo equidem uxorem, sed non hercle ex animi mei sententia' (Gellius, iv. 20). Cort omits 'mei.'—'vera—praedicet:' 'if any thing is truly said of me (vera oratio), it must say well of me.'—'superant:' 'overpower, refute.'

qui—imposuistis] 'Qui' refers to the 'vos' contained in 'vostra.'—'num eorum:' 'num id,' Cort, Allen.—'fidei caussa:' see c. 29. The complete expression is 'fidei faciundae caussa.'

hastas, &c.] These were prizes or military honours ('militaria dona') conferred on him.—'advorso corpore:' 'in front.' See Cat. c. 61, 'advorsis volneribus.'

parum] Or 'parvi,' as Kritz has it: 'I value that little,' the making of a fine speech.

litteras Graecas] Plutarch says the same. See c. 63.

illa—doctus sum] This is a usual Latin construction like Horace's 'docte sermones utriusque linguae.' —'praesidia agitare:' compare c. 55, 'praesidium agitabant.'—'juxta:' see Cat. c. 2.

arte colam] 'Treat scantily, meanly,' and have abundance myself ('opulenter'). 'Arte' is 'arcte.' See 'opulens,' c. 69, and 'arte modum statuisse,' c. 45.—'meam—illorum:' 'nor will I make the glory mine, the toil theirs.'

opulenter, neque gloriam meam, laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque quum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia majores vostri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quis nobilitas freta ipsa dissimilis moribus nos illorum aemulos contemnit, et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia quae licebat illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram; virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant; ea sola neque datur dono neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum neque pluris preti coquum quam villicum habeo. Quae mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. Nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissumae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus

civile imperium] A military authority exercised by a man who does not forget that he is a citizen, nor that he commands citizens. So Livy (45, c. 42) quoted by Kritz has 'civilis animus,' and 'sermo civilis;' and Tacitus (Ann. i. 8) has 'civilis modus,' and other like usages of 'civilis.'

id est dominum] Compare Jug. c. 31, 'id est regem esse.' Sallust often uses the pronoun 'is' thus.

celebravere] 'Made famous or known to fame;' like 'celebrare' in c. 73.

Quis—freta] 'Relying on this,' on the great deeds of their ancestors.

Sordidum] 'Clownish,' 'coarse,' or something of the kind.—'convivium exorno:' 'arrange a banquet.'—'histrionem:' 'a player' or 'actor.' As to valuing a cook more than a farm bailiff ('villicus'), there is a passage in Livy (39, c. 6) quoted by Jacobs, "tum cocus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta."

sanctis] 'Men of character and integrity,' whose virtues command respect. The original meaning of 'sanctus' is perhaps 'pure.'—'munditias:' 'delicacies and refinements;' but it is a hard word to explain here. Horace has (Carm. i. 5) it in a better sense. Sallust has 'urbanis munditiis,' c. 63.

ament, potent] Comp. Cat. c. 11. —'ubi—ibi:' 'in what they have employed their youth, in that let them spend their age.'

illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissume luxuria et ignavia, pessumae artes, illis qui coluere eas nihil officiunt, rei publicae innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. Nam quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, atque superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix; nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris aetas est, annitimini mecum et capessite rem publicam; neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in proelio consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero, meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto dis juvantibus omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus; quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos rei publicae subvenire decebat. Etenim nemo ignavia immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis ut

non est ita] 'It is not so:' they are not content with passing their time in indolence and debauchery.

avaritiam] 'Greediness after money.' As the commentators say, this word seems to refer to Bestia, 'imperitia' to Albinus, and 'superbia' to Metellus.

Deinde] This refers to 'nam removistis.'—'locorum sciens:' a participle with a genitive, like 'alieni appetens,' Cat. 5.

capessite] Comp. Cat. c. 52.

meque vosque—geram] Comp. c. 55, 'ut seque et exercitum . . . gereret.'

quae si—essent—decebat] 'And if these things were doubtful . . . still it would be the duty.' This is a usual form. It implies that there is no doubt, that the doubt is passed, but while it existed, it was the duty, &c., and is still the duty. The critics compare Cicero, de Imp. Cn. Pomp. c. 17, "Quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus." Kritz also compares Tacit. Hist. i. 16, 'si immensum,' &c.

immortalis] 'Immortal' means 'remembered for ever.' The Roman immortality is posthumous fame. This is Cicero's immortality (Phil. ix. 5). See also Cat. c. 1, note.

A much greater man than Cicero, the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, had a different opinion of posthumous fame: "to say all in a word, every thing in the body is a stream, and every thing in the soul is a dream and vapour, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and posthumous fame is oblivion" (Med. ii. 17). And again, "Short is the time which every man lives, small is the nook of the earth in which he lives, and short is the longest posthumous

aeterni forent optavit, magis uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

86. Hujuscemodi oratione habita Marius, postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis aliisque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto majore numero quam decretum erat in Africam profectus paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Mari fugerat, ne videret ea quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

87. Sed consul expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxi-

fame, and itself only continued by a succession of poor human beings who will die very soon, and who do not even know themselves, much less him who has long been dead" (Med. iii. 10). There is something to be learned in reading the ancient writers, besides the language in which they have written.

86. *non more majorum*] Not by summoning the people to the Campus Martius, nor yet by taking the men only from the first five classes, which were determined by their rating in the census. Marius raised his troops without any respect to the old classification according to the census, and he got most of them from the sixth class, from those who had nothing, who were merely counted as citizens by the head ('capite censi'). In the old Roman system, to serve in the army was both a privilege and a duty of the citizens who had property, and those who had none were not bound to serve nor entitled to serve. The men of the five classes would now generally be willing enough to be released from service, and the poor would be glad to serve, for service would give them pay and a chance of prize-money. Marius' recruiting was like modern recruiting in England. His men were of the poorest and lowest class. Gellius (xvi. 10) speaks of Marius enlisting the 'capite censi,' and explains the term. He also quotes Sallust's words from 'Ipse interea' to 'quisque opportunissumus.'

inopia bonorum] We see who the 'boni' are, the people who were not poor.—'eo genere:' 'by that sort of people,' the sort from which he got his men; those by whom he had been famed abroad, or who crowded about him, and by whom he was elevated to the consulship ('celebratus auctusque erat'). — 'omnia cum pretio:' 'any thing seemed honourable, if it brought profit.'

liariis in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur, proelia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse, videre fugientis capi aut occidi, fortissumum quemque tutissumum, armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Mari cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat speranti mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.

88. Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam laetissumis animis excipitur, plebi patribusque postquam invidia decesserat juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gaetulos et Jugurtham ex sociis nostris praedas agentis saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cog-

87. *omnia—donat*] Booty ('praeda') belonged to the Roman state (see 41, note). We read sometimes of generals giving all the booty to the soldiers. This was irregular, and the general's conduct was either overlooked or confirmed as a matter of prudence.—'proelia multa, ceterum levia:' 'battles many, but only slight.' The order of the words shows the meaning. In number the fights were many, in other respects ('ceterum') they were slight.

divorsi] 'Taking different roads, separating.' See Cat. c. 53, 'divorsi moribus,' and c. 2, 'divorsi.'

laxius—futuros] Jacobs compares 'ut ubivis tutius . . . essem,' c. 14. 'Laxius' refers to the general's looseness in discipline, like 'laxiore *imperio*,' c. 64, and 'licentius' to the soldiers' bad behaviour.

The reader will observe, or if he does not, it will be useful to make him observe, that this chapter tells us nothing at all about Marius' movements, neither direction nor place. In c. 88 he is near Cirta.

88. *Metellus*] He had a triumph in this year, B.C. 107, and received the name of Numidicus (Vell. ii. 11).

res—attendere] 'To attend to.' See Cat. c. 53.

ex sociis] The people of the province Africa.—'armis exuerat:' he had routed Jugurtha's men, who had cast away their arms and fled. Caesar writes (B. G. iii. 6), "Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis;" and in v. 51, "omnes armis exuit."

neque belli patrandi] See Cat. c.

novit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et advorsum se opportunissumae erant, singulas circumvenire; ita Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum saepe miserat, velle populi Romani amicitiam; ne quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingeni pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

89. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor Hercules

6, 'conservandae libertatis fuerat.' — 'nudatum:' we must supply 'fore.'

Nam Bocchus] When he says 'ita Jugurtham,' he means 'Jugurtha only;' and so we see what 'Nam Bocchus' means.—'nuntios—velle:' 'messengers to say that he wished,' or 'messages to say that,' &c. Such words as 'litterae,' 'nuntii,' which imply an act, are easily connected with a clause which follows, either 'ut' and a subjunctive, or an infinitive.

gravior accideret] 'Fall on with more weight.' See c. 107. I do not know why Dietsch has 'accederet' in his edition. The two words are often confounded.

89. *mediocria gerebat*] 'Limited himself to matters of small importance.' Shortly after he says 'majora . . . aggredi.'—'in manus venturum:' Kritz quotes Tacitus (Ann. ii. 80), 'ut venere in manus.' See also Jug. c. 101.

Capsa] Capsa, now named Gafsa, is in 34° 20′ N. lat., about 70 Roman miles west of the nearest part of the Syrtis Minor. Shaw who visited Gafsa describes it (p. 124, 2nd edit.) as situated on rising ground "in the like melancholy situation with Ferre-anah (see c. 75), with this difference only, that here the landscape is somewhat more gay and verdant by the prospect we have from it of the palm, the olive, the pistachio, and other fruit-trees. But this agreeable scene is of small extent, and serves merely to refresh the eye in the view it is to have afterwards of an interchange only of barren hills and valleys. The water which refreshes these plantations arises from two fountains, the one within the citadel, the other in the centre of the city. The latter was probably the 'jugis aqua' of Sallust. —This fountain and the other unite before they leave the city, and form a pretty large brook." Shaw discovered upon a square stone an imperfect Roman inscription, on which there are the letters 'CAPSE . . .,' which is some case of the word 'Capsenses.' Pellissier (Description de la Régence de Tunis) gives no new information on Gafsa. He says that he found the inscription with 'Capse' on it; but he does not say that Shaw found it above a hundred years ago.

Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur, muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus, quorum vis sicut omnium ferarum inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa perniciosa siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, quum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur, et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo atque ea intra oppidum jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriae erat.

90. Igitur consul omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus, —nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere

immunes] 'Free from taxes.' See Cicero's Verrine orations on the towns of Sicily, which were 'immunes.'

praeter—propinqua] 'Except the parts adjacent to the town.'—'vasta:' 'waste,' a desert. —'infesta serpentibus:' we say 'infested with serpents,' using the Latin word, but in a vague sense. It means 'made dangerous by serpents.'—'ipsa perniciosa:' 'in itself,' 'naturally dangerous.'

propter usum belli] 'Because the possession of it would be useful for the purposes of the war.' See c. 84, 'belli usum.'—'cetera,' &c.: 'cetera' is the ablative singular. It means 'the rest of the water which they used was rain water.'

Id] This refers to all that he has said about the water.—'quae—agebat:' he means in all parts of Africa in which the people lived in a somewhat rude way. Cort has 'qui procul . . . agebant.'

cibus illis] The nature of their food was such, that while it satisfied their hunger, it did not cause thirst.

90. *consilio—providere*] 'Provide sufficiently by his own forethought.' We have borrowed this absolute use of the word 'providere.' His 'consilium' is opposed to his reliance on the gods. It is a usual way of writing. He trusted to the help of the gods, for his own forethought was not sufficient, 'yet (tamen pro rei copia) with such means as he could command he fits out his army with all proper care.' He acted like a wise man. Allen writes 'Dis, credo, fretus,' following Harl. 15, and this is the usual place of 'credo.' — 'temptabatur:' 'he was troubled, in difficulties.' — 'arvo:' 'arvum' is

non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate; nam aestatis extremum erat—tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet, dicitque se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanam.

91. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat; simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et ignaris omnibus parare quae mox usui forent; denique sexto die, quum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis milites cibum capere atque uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur paratos esse jubet, omnibus sarcinis abjectis aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam

'ploughed land,' hence arable cultivation.

oppidum Laris] That is, 'Lares.' The ablative is 'Laribus' in the Itineraries, whence is derived the name Larbuss or Lorbus, which is supposed to be on the site of Lares. If this Laris is the Laribus of the Itineraries, it is east of the river Bagradas and west of Zama. Shaw says (p. 95), "Lorbus, called sometimes Lerba, the ancient Laribus Colonia, lies in the same parallel with Tubersoke, at three leagues' distance to the west. It has a fine situation on an eminence." Lares is placed by Ptolemy (iv. 3. 28) west of the Bagradas, and it is misplaced, if the Itineraries have placed it right, and it appears that they have.—'stipendium:' 'his money-chest.' — 'dicitque:' Cort omits these words.

Tanam] This river is unknown.

91. *turmas*] 'The cavalry.' 'Aequaliter' may mean so that every man would get the same.—'inopiam frumenti lenire:' this is the historic infinitive: he tried to mitigate the want of corn by distributing the cattle, Kritz says, and in other ways too, I suppose.—'ad flumen ventum est:' on the sixth day he comes to the river Tana, which may be a branch of the Bagradas, but we know no more of Marius' route than this, that he landed at Utica, came near Cirta (c. 88), and was marching from some place unknown to us and to the historian too, to attack Capsa.

uti—egrederentur] 'In order to leave the camp at sunset, he bids them to be in readiness.' 'Capere,' 'paratos esse,' and 'onerare' depend on 'jubet.' 'Cum occasu solis' means the same as Caesar's 'solis occasu.'

itinere facto consedit; idem proxuma facit; dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo, ibique quam occultissume potest cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies coepit et Numidae nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum et cum his velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere jubet; deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coëgere uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidae puberes interfecti, alii omnes venumdati, praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum, sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum [ante], neque beneficio neque metu coërcitum.

92. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea, major atque clarior haberi coepit. Omnia non bene consulta [modo, verum etiam casu data] in virtutem trahebantur; milites,

tumulosum] A word like 'discordiosum,' c. 66. It is a place where the ground rises in gentle elevations ('tumuli').

multi] A predicate, 'in great numbers.'—'portas obsidere:' see Cat. c. 45, 'pontem obsidunt.'

ad hoc pars] 'And besides this, the fact that part of the citizens were in the enemy's power.'

Ceterum] 'However;' 'notwithstanding the surrender.'—'venumdati:' 'venditi' would be the common word. They were sold to the 'mercatores,' who used to follow the Roman armies to sell their commodities and to buy slaves. (Caesar, B. G. ii. 33; vi. 31; and Livy x. 12 and 17.)

jus belli] 'The law of war,' the rules followed in carrying on war. See c. 14. The people had surrendered, and should not have been treated as people were treated whose town was taken by storm.—'admissum:' see c. 53, 'admissum facinus.'—'[ante]:' Cort omits '[ante].' He does not say what the readings are. 'Coërcitum' is explained by Perizonius, quoted by Cort, thus, 'not easily ever restrained, and accordingly not easy to be restrained for the future.' Cort compares 'infectum,' c. 76.

92. *incommodo*] 'Loss.' See Caesar, B. G. vii. 30.—'Omnia—trahebantur:' the words in [ ] should perhaps be omitted, as they are in Cort's and other editions. 'All his measures which were not well devised were interpreted to his credit.' Allen compares Tacitus, Ann. i. 62, 'in deterius trahenti,' and iii. 22, 'quidam ad saevitiam trahebant.'

modesto imperio habiti, simul et locupletes, ad coelum ferre, Numidae magis quam mortalem timere, postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura deserta propter Capsensium miserias igni corrumpit; luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercito incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto; nam omnis natura velut opere atque consulto praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte quam consilio melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae, aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus, iter castellanorum angustum admodum utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur; nam quum eae paulo

modesto imperio] 'Under easy military discipline.' See 'modeste,' c. 41. — 'socii:' this word being joined to 'hostes,' seems to mean 'friends,' or all on Marius' side.— 'portendi:' that is, 'protendi.' They believed that either he had a 'mens divina,' a knowledge like that of the gods, and a knowledge of future events, or that the result of every undertaking was made known to him by the indications which the gods gave to him.

aliam—aggreditur] 'Ad aliam,' &c., Cort, who compares Livy i. 42, "aggreditur inde ad pacis longe maximum opus."

Mulucha] See c. 19. The scene is now moved from Capsa in the east to the Mulucha in the west, a direct distance due west from Capsa of 700 Roman miles. Sallust leaves us to guess how this distance was accomplished. He has nothing but such vague expressions as 'ad alia oppida pergit' and 'multis locis potitus,' which tell us nothing. Either he had very incomplete materials for the history of the war, or he used them badly.—'ceteram planitiem:' 'in a part where all the rest was level.' — 'satis patens:' 'large enough,' on the top, I suppose.— 'natura:' the ablative, 'naturally.' 'All the hill (omnis) was naturally.'

castello] The dative: 'the castle had.' — 'aggeribus — importunus:' 'unfavourable for being assaulted by raising embankments and other contrivances.' But the two nouns are in the dative.—'iter castellanorum:' 'the approach to the people in the fort.'

Vineae — agebantur] The usual form of expression. See c. 76. If the 'vineae' were brought up, we

processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

93. At Marius multis diebus et laboribus consumptis anxius trahere cum animo [suo], omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus [fuerat]. Quae quum multos dies noctisque aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum proeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cochleas; quarum quum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingeni cupido difficilia faciundi animum vortit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudi-

do not need to be told that they were useless. Either Sallust's description of the place is false, or the fact of the 'vineae' being brought up to it is a foolish invention of the historian.

93. *trahere cum animo*] See c. 84. Cort omits '[suo].'

Quae—aestuans agitaret] 'Thinking of this . . . with great uneasiness or restlessness of mind.'—'aquatum:' 'aquari,' 'to get water,' may be compared with 'lignari,' 'materiari,' 'frumentari.'—'unam atque alteram:' see c. 60. These 'cochleae' were some kind of snails probably, which the Ligurian at first intended to make a meal of.

more—faciundi animum vortit] Cort has 'more humani ingenii cupido ignara visundi invadit.' He cites Gellius (ix. 12), who quotes Sallust as authority for 'ignarus' used in the sense of 'qui ignoratur.' Sallust's words, quoted by Gellius, are 'more humanae cupidinis ignara visundi.' But it is not certain that Gellius is quoting this passage. Cort says that the MSS. have 'more humani ingenii cupido difficilia faciundi animadvertit;' but there are great varieties in the last word: there are 'animum vertit,' 'animum advertit,' which may be right, 'animum avertit,' 'animum invadit,' and other varieties. Cort has patched up a reading out of Gellius and the MSS., injudiciously as I think. 'Animum vortit' means 'changed his intention;' or, if we read 'animum advertit,' it will be 'attracted his attention.' The desire of getting up to the top, or, as he expresses it, 'according to the habit of the human mind the desire of doing something difficult' made him forget his snail-picking ('animum vortit'). If a man had written this campaign who had served in it, he would have told us the story in a different way.

paulum modo prona] 'Lying along the ground only for a short distance.'—'cuncta gignentium natura:' 'cuncta' is the accusative plural.—'gignentium natura:' see c. 79.—'ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus:' 'helping himself sometimes by the branches, sometimes by the projecting rocks.'

nem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus castelli planitiem perscribit, quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, ut escenderat, sed temptans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur ab ea parte qua ipse escenderat castellum temptet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure promissa ejus cognitum ex praesentibus misit; quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere; consulis animus tamen paulum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam

The Ligurian had probably been used to climb the mountains of his native country, a hardy fellow, as Virgil says (Georgic. ii. 168), 'Adsuetumque malo Ligurem.'

perscribit] Cort interprets this to mean 'concipit, perdiscit.' He examines the flat top and fixes it in his mind. Some of the editors have altered this word without any authority that I can find. Kritz has 'in castelli planitiem perrepsit,' which is absurd. Jacobs has 'in . . . pervenit,' which is better sense, but there is little authority for it.

proeliantibus aderant] 'Proeliantibus' is the dative. 'They were with the men who were fighting.'

non temere] This word is explained by the context 'temptans omnia,' &c. It means 'not carelessly, or without a purpose.'

cognitum ex praesentibus] 'Ex praesentibus' has the power of an accusative. He sent some of those who were present or about him to examine the Ligurian's plan. — 'quorum uti,' &c.: 'and according to the disposition of each, so they reported.' The regular form would be, as Kritz remarks, 'qui, uti cujusque (eorum) ingenium erat.'— 'arrectus:' Allen has 'erectus,' which, as he remarks, Cort intended to put in his text; but Cort did not put it in the text, and he has made the same blunder several times. 'Erectus' may be the true reading.

numero quinque] See c. 53. — 'praesidio qui forent:' if one adjective could express the meaning, it might stand in the place of these three words, 'and four (protecting) centurions,' four officers who were to look after the men and take care that nothing rash was done. The officers being men of experience, would know what to do and not to do better than the Ligurian, whom they were ordered to follow, and they would know better than the other men. Jacobs remarks that we must, without doubt, suppose a stronger body than nine men, and accordingly we must either suppose that 'centuriones' means centurions and their men, or we must assume the passage to be corrupt. I assume neither. Marius chose five of the most active men, and he sent four officers also, to look after them and the Ligurian. He was not so stupid as to send a detachment of soldiers on such an affair. Jacobs (Vorwort, p. vii) says, that as some MSS. have 'milia' after 'quinque,' Linker accepts Oudendorp's conjecture, and writes 'ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque militesque quam velocissumos delegit, et cum his praesidio qui forent quattuor centuriones,' and Jacobs adds, "that we

velocissumos delegit, et cum his praesidio qui forent quattuor centuriones, omnisque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit.

94. Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui ascensuri erant praedocti ab duce arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa et si quae vetustate radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati [milites] facilius escenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos prae se inermis mittere, deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quae dubia nisu videbantur potissumus temptare, ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes sicut aliis diebus advorsum hostis aderant. Marius ubi ex nuntiis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quam-

might without hesitation place this in the text, if there were not a considerable difficulty in taking 'praesidio esse' in the sense of 'to command.'" The difficulty which Jacobs suggests is not small, but there are greater difficulties in the way of adopting the correction. The text of Frontinus (Strat. iii. 9) is "paucos centuriones, quibus perfectissimos cum velocissimis militibus aeneatores immiscuerat misit;" and his story is evidently taken from Sallust. The text of Sallust may be corrupt.

94. *ex praecepto*] 'Pursuant to the general's order' (c. 93).—'pergit:' that is 'Ligus.'

qui ascensuri erant] There is authority for this reading. Cort has 'qui centuriis praeerant,' for which or something like it there is also authority; but it is plainly corrupt.—'ornatumque:' 'and their clothing,' as the editors explain it; of course, *only* some of it.—'facilius foret:' 'facilius' is an adverb like 'tutius,' c. 14.—'ponderis gratia:' he means lightness, for weight may be great or small.—'offensa quo:' 'and that if the shields struck against any thing they might make less noise.' Jacobs quotes Livy (7, c. 36), 'miles offenso scuto praebuit sonitum.'

si quae vetustate radices] 'If any roots by having grown a long time projected (from the rocks).'—'quibus—escenderent:' 'that the soldiers being supported by them might get up more easily.'—'dubia nisu:' like 'aditu difficilis' c. 91, as Jacobs remarks. 'Dubia nisu' is 'dangerous, uncertain for the foot;' dangerous to trust to and step on in making their way up.—'potissumus:' chief of all, more than any one.—'digrediens:' 'stepping aside' to let the rest pass.—'audaciam addere:' see c. 85, 'virtutem adderent.'

advorsum hostis aderant] Compare 'aderant,' c. 93.

quam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, maledicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam objectare, militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere, deinde uti quisque muro proxumus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum

intentos—habuerat] 'Had kept the Numidians actively employed in fighting.' Kritz compares c. 79, 'quae res eos . . . habuit.'—'extra vineas:' 'from under the vineae,' which covered the men. It is difficult to understand this assault. There was only one approach to the fort, and that was very narrow, and steep on both sides (c. 92). Of course the assault was made by this road, as there was no other.

testudine acta] If, as Jacobs remarks, the writer were only speaking of making the 'testudo,' he would have said 'facta,' but 'acta' means that it was put in motion. But 'facta' would do, for 'succedere' expresses the movement up the hill to the attack. Livy (34, c. 39) describes the 'testudo.' It was made by the soldiers raising their shields over their heads and then joining them so closely that no place was left for a missile to penetrate.

pro muro] Literally, 'in front of the wall,' but that would be outside of the fort. If that is not the meaning, it means on the wall and in front, like 'pro tectis' (c. 67), which Kritz translates 'in front on the roofs.' He compares Livy 21, c. 7, 'pro moenibus—tela micare,' but see below.—'secundis rebus—esse:' one of Sallust's unmeaning conclusions to a sentence, in order to round it.

signa canere] See Cat. c. 59. I suppose the 'tubicines' and 'cornicines' who had mounted the hill at the back now alarmed the enemy by the unexpected sound. The consequence of the alarm is described in a very obscure way. There is no difficulty in translating it, and the reader may understand it as he can. —'qui visum processerant:' the women and children had gone forward to see; gone forward to see the battle, not to see whence the trumpets' sound came. He means to say that they had gone outside of the walls, where they might suppose themselves to be safe, for the Romans could not reach the town except by the narrow passage, which the men of the fort were defending.

tantummodo sauciare] They wounded the men only, and did not stay to kill them completely.—'murum petere:' they made for the wall, leaving the wounded and passing over the bodies of the killed; from

corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

95. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit, quos ut ex Latio et a sociis cogeret Romae relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere; neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus, et L. Sisenna optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia,

which I collect that some of the Numidians were fighting outside the wall and in front, and this is the only explanation of 'pro muro' which is consistent with the whole story. Cort correctly takes 'pro muro' to mean the same as 'pro castris,' c. 59, and this will agree with the explanation of 'visum processerant.' We will conclude that the Romans got to the wall and entered the town, though Sallust has not chosen to tell us that. We must infer it from the next sentence.

correcta—temeritas] 'Thus the rashness of Marius being remedied produced glory out of that which was matter of blame.' His rashness was the attack on the citadel, which was corrected, set right by the snail-picker.

95. *quos ut — cogeret*] 'Quos' refers to 'equites,' the notion of which is contained in 'equitatus.' Compare c. 91, 'equitatum et cum his,' and Cat. c. 16, note on 'ex illis.'

admonuit] He writes (c. 79) 'eam rem nos locus admonuit.'

cultuque] Here the word must have a larger sense than it has sometimes. As opposed to 'natura,' 'a man's nature,' it means that which he has been made by education and living among men. — 'neque—alio *loco*:' yet, as Kritz and others remark, Sallust said a good deal about Sulla in his Historiae (Fr. 20—45, and the Preface to this edition), and so we conclude that he had no intention of writing his Historiae when he wrote this passage.—'L. Sisenna:' L. Cornelius Sisenna was born probably about B.C. 119, and therefore he was a contemporary of L. Cornelius Sulla. He wrote the history of the Marsic or Social War, and of the civil war of Marius and Sulla. Cicero (Brutus, c. 64) says that Sisenna wrote Latin well, and that his history was better than all previous histories, but still below what historical writing ought to be. Cicero wrote his Brutus in B.C. 46, and not long before Sallust wrote his books, as Jacobs observes. — 'persecutus:' that is, 'eas res.' He did not speak freely enough ('parum . . . libero ore'), but that is easily explained when we consider when he lived and whom he wrote about.

gentis patriciae nobilis] Sulla's family was one of the patrician families of the Cornelii, which gens also contained plebeian families. Sulla was also 'nobilis,' because his ancestors had held curule honours (see Cat. c. 5). Plutarch's Life of Sulla is one of his best lives.—'familia—exstincta:' 'of a family almost,' &c. 'Familia' is the ablative.—'[esse]:' Cort omits 'esse,' and perhaps rightly. — 'remorata:'

litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior; otio luxurióso [esse], tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis; multarum rerum ac maxume pecuniae largitor. Atque illi felicissumo omnium ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere fortior an felicior esset; nam postea quae fecerit incertum habeo, pudeat magis an pigeat disserere.

96. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare, multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare ut illi

'eum' must be supplied, 'pleasure never kept him away from business.'—'nisi quod:' he means, as we may infer from what has been said, that though Sulla loved pleasure, yet he did not neglect business, but that his conduct in his marriage relations may be taken as an exception to this remark ('nisi quod').—'de uxore:' this is supposed to mean 'with respect to his wives;' but it is obscure. Sulla had five wives. Sallust adds 'potuit—consuli:' 'potuit' is impersonal, and 'ab eo' must be supplied: 'he might have been better advised in matters of marriage.'—'amicitia facilis:' 'in friendship,' 'as to friendship easy,' but what kind of easiness he means, it is difficult to say. It may mean 'ready to form friendships,' and also good natured and agreeable, without having any strong attachment. I know no one word for it.

felicissumo] Cort omits 'illi.' Sulla assumed the name of Felix, or the Fortunate, as Plutarch (Sulla, c. 34) renders it by the Greek εὐτυχής, after the death of C. Marius the younger (Vell. ii. 27).—'fortuna:' 'his fortune,' that is, his condition. He was active, had 'industria,' and success; but his prosperity, which may have been due in some degree to what we call good fortune, was never greater than his activity or his labours to deserve his good fortune.—'postea quae fecerit:' after his overthrow of Marius' faction, when he shed blood freely and seized men's property to give to his partizans.

Sulla was born in B.C. 138, and this was his first campaign, so far as we know (B.C. 107). Plutarch (Sulla, c. 3) says that Sulla accompanied Marius to Africa.

96. *in paucis tempestatibus*] See c. 73, 'post multas tempestates,' and c. 28.—'per se ipse:' this is opposed to 'multis rogantibus.' Some asked, and to some he gave without being asked ('per se ipse').

aes mutuum] 'A loan.' See Cat. 24, 'pecuniam . . . mutuam,' and the note.—'illi:' the dative, meaning Sulla. Though the reflective pronoun 'sibi' or 'ipsi' might be used

quam plurumi deberent, joca atque seria cum humillumis agere, in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse, neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis aut cujusquam boni famam laedere, tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

97. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios mittit quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; proeli faciundi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus ut antea proxumos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem vix decuma parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quae jam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore, et si vicissent nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant, contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant, et

here, as it seems to us, the other form ('illi') seems quite as appropriate in such a sentence, where the writer is making a remark in his own person.

joca atque seria—agere] Kritz quotes Cicero, de Fin. ii. 26, 'At quicum joca, seria, ut dicitur.' The two last words show that it was a familiar expression.—'in operibus:' 'in the works undertaken for defence of the camp or to attack the enemy' (Kritz).—'multus:' see c. 84.—'quod—solet:' some word is easily supplied. See Cat. c. 29, 'quod . . . solet.'

artibus] See Jug. c. 2, and Cat. c. 2, note.

97. *magnam pecuniam*] See c. 92, 'quod ibi regis thesauri erant.'—'nuntios—adduceret:' the subjunctive depends on the compound notion 'nuntios mittit.'—'dubium belli:' 'wavering between peace and war.' So 'medius' is used with a genitive.—'rationes trahere:' see c. 84.

in hiberna] See c. 100 and c. 102.—'die:' the genitive. See c. 16, where 'fide' is the dative.—'nullo impedimento:' the ablative (Kritz), 'would be of no hindrance.' Cort takes it to be the dative, and Allen also; and perhaps it is. 'Si vicissent' is the same as 'victoribus.'

simul—et ipsi] 'At the same time he heard, and at the same time the enemy was close upon him.' This is a usual form. We may say, 'No sooner was he informed than.'—'instrui:' 'set in battle order.' 'Triplicem aciem instruxit,' Caesar,

priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli non acie neque ullo more proeli, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurrunt, qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant, pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus, pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri, sine signis, sine ordinibus equites pedites permixti; caedere alios, alios obtruncare; multos contra advorsos acerrume pugnantis ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant; denique Romani veteres [novique] et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

98. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissumis

B. G. i. 24.—'sarcinas colligere:' "sarcinas in unum locum conferri . . . jussit," Caesar, B. G. i. 24. The 'sarcina' is that which each soldier carried. They put their 'sarcinae' together before a battle began.—'incurrunt:' 'concurrunt,' Cort. — 'latrocinio:' this is opposed, as Kritz observes, to the term 'justum proelium,' 'a regular fight.' It was a disorderly attack, such as robbers would make, or such as the Moors of Marocco make now (1860).—'obtruncare:' 'mutilate,' 'cut off the limbs.' 'Caedere' is 'to cut;' so 'caesim' in the way of cutting is opposed to 'punctim,' 'piercing by a thrust.' — 'veteres:' 'the old soldiers,' or 'veterani,' as they are sometimes named (Cat. c. 60). — 'scientes belli:' like 'locorum scientes' above. Sallust often uses participles in this way with a genitive. Cort has 'veteres novique et ob ea,' &c., which I suppose to be the reading of the MSS., except of one, which is different. If 'veteres novique' is right, it is to be explained thus, says Cort, "Denique *si* Romanos veteres novosque, qui *ob id*, quod conjungerentur veteribus, facile morem militiae discebant, casus conjunxerat, *illi* orbis facere." If Sallust meant this, he has not really said it, but has left us to guess.— 'orbis facere:' they formed in a circle with their faces turned on all sides to the enemy, like forming a square. 'Quum illi orbe facto sese defenderent,' Caesar, B. G. iv. 37.

98. *familiarissumis*] The body of cavalry, which was about the general, was not selected from favourites or men of rank, as was the case sometimes. This 'turma' was Marius' 'praetoria cohors,' his guard. See Caesar, B. G. i. 40, 'sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram;' and Cat. c. 60 and 61.—'manu:' 'by his personal exertions.'

paraverat, vagari passim ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque uti suis receptui locus esset collis duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno castris parum amplo fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet; ipse paulatim dispersos milites neque minus hostibus conturbatis in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges loci difficultate coacti proelio deterrentur, neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque noctis barbari suo more laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: [et] ipsi duces feroces quia non fugerant pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

ex copia—trahit] 'Out of such opportunities as circumstances offer he forms his plan.'—'munimenta quaerebat:' required; and in this sense 'requirere,' I suppose, might be used. But 'requirere' often means to look for what you do not get. Cort has 'munimento.'

noctem agitare] Allen omits 'noctem' on the authority of Harl. 11 and 15. He compares c. 59, "Equitatum omnem — pro castris agitare jubet." — 'neque — conturbatis:' he uses the ablative absolute to express a circumstance, which aided Marius in getting his men into order: 'his soldiers who were dispersed, and the enemy being in no less confusion.'—'in collem subducit:' 'leads up to the hill,' the hill which was 'usui opportunus.' "Copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit," B. G. i. 24. — 'pleno gradu:' 'quick march.' Cicero and Livy have the same expression.

effusi consedere] 'They took their place in a disorderly way.' We must supply 'the enemy,' which notion is contained in 'suos.' Caesar has (B. G. iii. 17) "quum Viridovix contra eum . . . consedisset."

plerumque noctis] Like 'diei extremum' and such expressions.— 'feroces quia:' 'full of confidence because they had not fled.' See Cat. c. 5. Cort has 'quia non fugerent,' and Allen also, who found this reading in Harl. 8. — 'pro victoribus agere:' 'thought that they were victorious,' or 'acted as if they were.' See Cat. 8, 'pro maxumis.' 'Agere' is one of Sallust's common words.

magnoque hortamento] 'Were a great encouragement.' These words

99. Plurumum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi jubet, ne signa quidem uti per vigilias solebant canere; deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paulo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore formido quasi vecordia ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique; arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio quam omnibus superioribus interempti; nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

100. Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna proficiscitur, quae propter commeatum in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat; neque tamen victoria secors aut inso-

are in the dative. Nothing is more usual in Sallust and in Tacitus than to place clauses of this kind in close connexion or opposition, as 'facilia visu,' an adjective with or without another word, and 'magno hortamento,' a word or more words in a different case, or it may be an adverb. Tacitus writes (Agricola, c. 1), "agere . . . pronum magisque in aperto erat."

99. *uti per vigilias*] This may mean during the 'vigiliae,' or the four night watches; but the horn-blowing was used to mark the end of one 'vigilia' and the beginning of another, as appears from Vegetius iii. 8 and Livy vii. 35, quoted by Kritz. 'Canere' is used absolutely. See Cat. c. 59.—'vigiles:' all the MSS. have 'vectigales,' or some corrupt form of 'vectigales,' and all the old editions. Cort made the correction 'vigiles,' and he ingeniously explains the cause of the blunder. It is strange that all the MSS. should agree, and yet it is impossible that 'vectigales' can be the right reading.—'signa canere:' several MSS. omit 'signa,' and Allen omits it.

100. *in hiberna proficiscitur*] Cort omits the verb, which is not in the MSS., he says. The inferior MSS. have in place of it, either 'it' or 'iter.' Here Sallust tells us that Marius intended to winter on the coast. See c. 97, 'in hiberna proficiscentem.'—'quadrato agmine:' like 'munito agmine,' c. 46. He had his troops so arranged in the march, that they were protected from any sudden attack, and could soon be put in battle order. He explains it. The term 'agmen quadratum' is not used in the Gallic war. Livy uses it (21, c. 5), and Cicero.—'cum funditoribus—curabat:' he uses 'curabat' absolutely first, as it is used in Cat. c. 59, and then he uses it with an accusative, 'cohortes.'—'primos et extremos,' &c.: in the van and in the rear he places the 'tribuni' with the legionary soldiers ('manipuli') unencumbered.

lens factus, sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae minume cari et regionum scientissumi hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere, apud omnis adesse, laudare et increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque item milites cogebat; neque secus atque iter facere castra munire, excubitum in porta cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere, praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futuri quae imperavisset quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius

minume cari] Deserters from the enemy, 'who were not valued at all.' Deserters were used, as they ought to be, for the advantage of those to whom they desert, without any care whether they perished or not.

quasi nullo, &c.] As if not a single officer had been set over the troops to look after them.

item] He himself was armed and active; he also made the rest so ('item'). Jacobs compares Cat. c. 27, "ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere."—'neque secus—castra munire:' 'he attended to the fortification of his camp no less than to his march.'—'excubitum in porta:' this is to be taken as one idea 'to keep gate-watch.' The legionary soldiers did this in the camp, and the cavalry were on the outside to watch. Cort has 'in portas' from one MS. But Allen cites 'in portas' from two other MSS. All Cort's MSS. have 'in porta,' which seems to be properly opposed to 'pro castris.'—'non tam diffidentia futuri quae imperavisset:' Cort has this reading, with the omission of 'tam.' Perizonius explains it thus,—'non diffidentia futuri negotii eorum quae,' and Cort approves of it. If 'futuri' is right, we must look for some better explanation than this. The genitive 'futuri' of course depends on 'diffidentia,' and 'quae imperavisset' explains what the 'futurum' is, and there is no other way in which Sallust could have expressed it, unless he had changed the form of the sentence; for 'quae imperavisset' is only a way of saying 'imperatorum,' 'of his orders:' and instead of that single word Sallust has given the two ('quae imperavisset') which are equivalent to 'imperatorum.' The variations of the MSS. make the reading uncertain, but I am inclined to think that 'futuri' or 'futurorum' is the true reading.

Those editors who have the reading 'futurum quae' explain it thus: 'futurum' is equivalent to 'fore.' Kritz refers to Gellius i. 7, who says on the passage in Cicero (Verr. ii. 5, c. 65), "hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum," that "futurum non refertur ad rem, sicut legentibus temere et incuriose videtur, neque pro participio positum est, sed verbum est indefinitum." Gellius gives other examples, as 'dicturum,' equivalent to 'dicturos.'—'volentibus:' see c. 84.

illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coërcebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset; nisi tamen res publica pariter ac saevissumo imperio bene atque decore gesta.

101. Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes

pudore] The 'pudor' of the soldiers, their regard for their duty and their general.—'malo:' 'punishment.'—'per ambitionem:' 'to gain the soldiers' favour.' See c. 45.—'consuetam habuisset:' 'had been accustomed to.'—'nisi tamen:' Sallust does not decide what was the motive of Marius in his treatment of his soldiers, but this he can say ('nisi tamen'), 'that the public interests (res publica) were managed as well and properly as if his discipline had been most severe.'

101. *quarto denique*] This seems to be the fourth day after setting out for his winter quarters (c. 100), but it is not clear from what point Sallust supposes that Marius made these four days' march. If he reckons from the fort near the Mulucha (c. 92), Marius could not have arrived near Cirta in three days' march and part of a fourth, nor in thirty days. Perhaps Sallust means on the fourth day from the continuance of his march (c. 100, 'Dein Marius'). In c. 97 Marius is attacked on his march ('jam in hiberna proficiscentem'), which seems to mean, as soon as he began his march, after the capture of the fort, which was not far from the Mulucha. Marius defeated the enemy, and then continued his march as he had begun, and he intended to winter in the maritime towns (c. 100). But Sallust does not say what maritime towns. Then on the fourth day, after resuming his march, as it seems, instead of being near the sea, we are told that he is not far from Cirta. He may have intended to pass Cirta, and to march to the coast from that town. But Sallust says (c. 102) that Marius arrived at Cirta, the place which he had originally designed to reach. This is likely enough. Cirta being a strong place, was probably the place where he had secured his stores; and yet Sallust has told us (c. 100) that Marius had intended to winter in the maritime towns in order to have supplies for his men. Perhaps Sallust may have considered Cirta to be a maritime town, as he has said (c. 21) that it is not far from the sea. So Marius besieges a fort not far from the Mulucha, and fights a battle not far from Cirta. This is Sallust's way of writing. It is a certain conclusion that he was very ignorant of the geography of Africa, or very careless about facts. Geography is a weak point with some modern writers, called historians; and yet if a man will write a history, he must know the geography of the country of which he writes, or he will confuse his reader and make his book useless. 'Hostis' is the accusative plural.

divorsi] 'From different directions.'—'redeuntes—significabant:' it seems to mean, 'returning from different directions, some from one part and some from another, they were giving information and all the same information.' Allen says 'redeuntes, sc. *erant*.' I think that 'significabant' is to be supplied with 'redeuntes.'

alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quattuor partis distribuerat ratus ex omnibus aeque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna in itinere morati affuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurumis erat. Dein Numida cognito Bocchi adventu clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit; ibi Latine, nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat, exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum;" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis

ex omnibus—venturos] 'That of all his four divisions the men of some one at least would come on the enemies' (the Romans') rear.' This seems like the meaning; but the words are, 'that out of all equally or alike some,' and the notion is that any one division would have the same chance as any other, and some one of all would not fail to fall on the rear. This may not seem a satisfactory explanation of 'aeque.' Allen explains it thus, 'Ratus ex omnibus *aeque aliquos ab tergo* hostibus venturos (sc. *et ceteros a fronte lateribusque*), h. e. tam aliquos ab tergo, quam alios ab aliis partibus.'

hostes attigerant] Cort omits 'hostes.'—'turmatim:' 'in turmae,' and in close order fell on the enemy. 'Ceteri' means the rest of the cavalry. Only part fell on the enemy. —'Bocchus cum peditibus—invadunt:' so he has written before. The notion is plural, 'Bocchus cum peditibus:' see Cat. c. 43.—'neque—affuerant:' Kritz says that we must supply 'qui' from the 'quos . . . adduxerat,' and he compares 'quae aut amisi aut . . . facta sunt,' c. 14. But I supply the word 'ii,' and the sense is 'neque ii.' Such a form is not uncommon, a change from the relative to the pronoun 'is' or 'ille,' to the direct form of expression. Cicero (Phil. i. c. 10) writes "quibus (legibus) latis gloriabatur, iisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat." Caesar (B. G. i. 45) has "quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset," which means 'neque eos . . . redegisset.' The 'priore pugna' is that described in c. 97—99.

Numida] Jugurtha.—'ad pedites convortit:' he slipped round to the rear of the Romans, where the Moorish infantry were attacking the Romans. He spoke in Latin that

atrocitate rei quam fide nunti terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in perculsos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paulum ab fuga aberant, quum Sulla profligatis iis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes [jam] undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile [in] campis patentibus; sequi fugere, occidi capi; equi viri afflicti, ac multi volneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere; postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

102. Post ea loci consul haud dubie jam victor pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere duos quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret; velle de

the Romans might understand and be alarmed.

atrocitate — nunti] 'Are more alarmed at the dreadfulness of the thing, than by belief in him who reported it.' The reader may put his own meaning on this way of writing.

Mauris ab latere] This is the order of the better MSS. (Cort), who also omits 'rediens.' 'Ab latere Mauris incurrit' is the other order.

avortitur] 'Turns off,' flies.

adeptam] See Cat. c. 7.

accurrit] Cort has 'occurrit,' following some MSS. and all the old editions. 'Occurrit' may be right: He hurries to meet them and to help them. Cort quotes Livy (36, c. 24), "adversus quos undique ad opem ferendam occurrunt Aetoli;" and Allen quotes Livy 21, c. 61; 37, c. 32.

niti] 'Just made an effort to rise, and immediately fell powerless.' 'Concidere' may be said of a single person. The preposition denotes a complete falling down and prostration. — 'qua visus erat:' I suppose he means whatever way a man looked. Of course 'visus' is a noun.

Kritz remarks that Tacitus (Agric. c. 37) imitated all this description of the slaughter and the fight. He had read it no doubt. It is a rhetorical or pictorial description, not a soldier's description.

102. *Post ea loci*] See c. 63, 'ad id locorum.' Some MSS. have 'post id.'

post diem quam] 'On the fifth day after the second defeat of the barbarians.' Allen says that this means 'on the sixth day,' but he is mistaken. He refers to 'post eum diem,' Cat. c. 48, which does not prove what he says.—'regis verbis:' see c. 21, 'senatus populique verbis.'

suo et de populi Romani commodo cum iis disserere. Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere, ut ingenium aut avorsum flecterent aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus: "Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia est, quum te talem virum di monuere ut aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares, simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem pariter te errantem atque illum sceleratissumum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam a principio melius visum amicos quam servos quaerere; tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia, primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minumum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein quod parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses quam mala perpessus es.

verba—facere] They were invited ('acciti') to go and hear the king's proposals, 'yet they determined to address him.' I suppose the conversation was conducted through interpreters, for Sallust does not tell us that Bocchus could speak Latin, as Jugurtha could (c. 101).—'aut avorsum—aut cupidum:' this form implies a contingency 'if;' 'if his disposition was either averse from peace (pace) or eager for it.'

aetati] See note on Sulla, c. 95. —'quum—di monuere:' Kritz and Jacobs remark that after such verbs as 'laudare,' 'gratulari,' 'quum' is used in the sense of 'quod.' It is not a good kind of explanation to assume that one word is put for another or used in the sense of another word. I think that 'quum' has its usual meaning, and being joined with an indicative marks the time, 'King Bocchus, great was, and is our rejoicing, when the gods prompted such a man as you.' Sulla speaks in a pious way. The gods put it into Bocchus' mind. The same kind of hypocritical language is used now.—'aliquando:' 'at last.' See c. 62, 'ut aliquando sibi.'—'demeres—necessitudinem—persequi:' 'take away the necessity for punishing.' The infinitive 'persequi' depends on the verbal compound notion contained in 'demeres . . . necessitudinem.'

jam a principio melius visum] Cort has 'jam inopi visum.'—'rati:' 'the Roman people have considered it.'

par ac] So he has 'pariter atque,' c. 100. Compare Caesar, B. G. i. 28; v. 13.—'parentis:' 'subjects.' See c. 3.—'satis fuit:' 'have never had enough,' which expresses both a past and a present idea.

Sed quoniam humanarum rerum Fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque uti coepisti perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse; nam bello quid valeat tuto scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: "se non hostili animo sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse, nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam; eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea missis antea Romam legatis repulsum ab amicitia: ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein copia facta animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha cognita legatione Sullae et Manli, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

103. Marius interea exercitu in hibernaculis composito

cui scilicet placuisse] 'And since we must acknowledge that it has been her pleasure,' that is, her will. See c. 4, 'scilicet,' and c. 113. Cort omits 'te' before 'experiri,' and yet he says 'sed *experiri*, cape omnino te experiri.' As many MSS. have 'te,' it seems as easy to take 'te' out of them as from any other indefinite place. — 'quando:' Jacobs and Kritz remark that Sallust only uses 'quando' in the sense in which the more common form 'quandoquidem' is used by other writers, and to express a ground or reason, which is admitted to exist at a given time. See c. 110.—'per illam licet:' 'she allows,' she puts no obstacle in the way. — 'quo — superes:' 'quo' refers to 'multa et opportuna.' It is a kind of collective term, all the 'advantages (opportuna)' for enabling him to redeem his faults by his services. Cort thinks that 'officiis' has been inserted by the 'glossatores.'

partem, unde] See c. 97. He pretended that he had driven Jugurtha from the part of Numidia which Jugurtha had agreed to give him; or that he had some title to the western part of Numidia, and he calls it a title by war ('jure belli'). Whether he was telling the truth or not, we do not know; but we know what he means to say. Cort writes 'expulerat' for 'expulerit.'—'repulsum:' see c. 80.

copia facta] Like 'potestate, facultate data.' 'After having obtained permission to do what he asked, the purpose of the barbarian was altered by his friends.'

103. *in hibernaculis*] 'In huts to pass the winter.' The winter quarters were in the vicinity of the maritime cities (c. 100). (Kritz.) I have said something on this before. Marius had come to Cirta (c. 102), and after settling his army in their huts for the winter, he set out to some desert places, and he returned to Cirta (c. 104). The conclusion is, that his army was at Cirta. 'Hibernacula' are huts or temporary buildings for the winter. Caesar, B. G. ii. 35; Livy v. 2.—'quo:' the same as 'in quam turrim.'—

cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita et ingenia validissuma erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur, dein in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique pavidi sine decore ad Sullam profugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiamtum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione

'perfugas omnis:' Kritz and Jacobs take this to mean 'deserters only,' like 'omnis lectos,' Cat. c. 59.

si placeat] 'Mario:' 'if Marius should consent.'—'quocumque modo:' 'in any way that they could.' The not relative use of the word only occurs here in Sallust (Jacobs). —'pro praetore:' see c. 36.

pro vanis] 'As treacherous' or pretended enemies, or for what they were not. He says 'as they deserved to be,' they came in such a miserable plight. But they could not help that, for they had been robbed and stripped. 'Meriti erant' then should rather mean 'as they might have expected.' They came in such a miserable condition, that they did not look like a king's ambassadors.—'accurate:' 'with attention' or 'respect.' See c. 16, 'accuratissume recepit.'

ignota erat] 'Ignara,' Cort, who refers to 'ignara' c. 93.—'nisi pariter volens:' 'no man was supposed to be liberal, unless he was also equally well disposed or friendly.' Liberality was considered a proof of friendship. He explains it by the words which follow: 'all presents were considered as a proof of a friendly disposition.'

mandata] 'The instructions,' what he had empowered his agents to do.—'utilia:' 'useful to Sulla or the Romans' (Kritz).—'benevolentiae esse:' one of Sallust's genitives. He means 'or things which were evidence of Bocchus' goodwill' towards Sulla or the Romans.—'dies quadraginta:' they waited till Marius returned from his expedition.

extollunt; dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiuntur.

104. Marius postquam confecto negotio quo intenderat

104. *confecto*] Cort has 'infecto,' which means that he had not accomplished the object for which he had made an effort ('quo intenderat'). Marius returns to Cirta. We have here fresh evidence of Cirta being his head quarters.—'Sullam venire jubet:' Jacobs writes 'Sullam ab Tucca venire jubet:' Kritz has 'Sullam ab Utica venire jubet.' There is authority both for 'ab Tucca' and 'ab Utica.'

Shaw supposes Tucca to be the place which he names Dugga (p. 100). He gives an inscription which contains the name Thugga, and another which contains the name Thuggensis, and one which contains the name Tuggensis. He supposes the place to be the Tucca (Τοῦκκα) of Procopius. Shaw places Thugga or Dugga between Teboursouk and Musti (Enchir-Mest), where there are Roman remains. Teboursouk also is full of ancient remains, and its site is established by an inscription as well as the site of Musti ('MVSTITANI'). We therefore know the site of Thugga or Tugga to be at Dugga; and so far as concerns the name, it might be the Tucca of this passage. But there is a Tucca Terebinthina in the Antonine Itinerary, and this Tucca is certainly not at Dugga. Pellissier (Description de Tunis, p. 284) fixes Tucca Terebinthina at a place named Makter, and he describes many Roman ruins which are there. The ruins at Douga, as he writes Dugga, are among the chief ruins in the regency of Tunis. He says, "it would be natural enough to suppose, on account of the resemblance of the names, that Douga is the Tucca of Ptolemy, but the town to which the geographer of Alexandria gives this name, is placed by him and by the other geographers much more to the west, as I explain it in my Mémoire on the Geography of Algeria. On the other side, Douga cannot be the Tucca Terebinthina of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which was much more to the south; consequently one may be surprised that a town of the importance of our Thugga has not been mentioned by any writer of antiquity." (Description de Tunis, p. 250.)

Ptolemy (iv. 2, 28) places one Tucca in Mauretania Caesariensis, or that part of Sallust's Numidia which is west of the Ampsagas. He places another Tucca (iv. 3, 29) in New Numidia, the coast-line of which is between the mouth of the Ampsagas and Tabraca at the mouth of the Tusca. He fixes this Tucca near a degree more north than Thuboursic (Θουβούρσικ), which seems the same name as Teboursouk, and in the meridian of Lambasa or Lambaesa, a place well known under the modern name Lambessa. He has a third Tucca exactly in the meridian of the mouth of the Bagradas. Ptolemy's geography, as we have it, cannot be trusted for the determination of these African towns. Again, Pliny (v. 2) has a town Tucca, which he places on the sea at the mouth of the Ampsagas. This does not correspond to the site of any of Ptolemy's three places.

The conclusion is, that there were several places named Tucca; that the Tucca Terebinthina of the Antonine Itinerary is at a place called Makter, for its position depends on that of Assura or Assurae, which is determined by an inscription (Pellissier, Descrip. de Tunis, p. 284): that Tugga is probably one of the places named Tucca, and that Tucca Terebinthina, which is further south, was distinguished from it by the ad-

Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule; interea induciae postulabantur. Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri impetratis omnibus tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rusone, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat, duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus quum cetera, tum maxume benignitatem et studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: "Senatus et populus Romanus benefici et injuriae memor esse solet. Ceterum

ditional name. The common books on geography are all in confusion about Tucca and Tugga. Some do not mention Tugga at all, and they incorrectly place Tucca Terebinthina at Douga.

Another conclusion is, that if Tucca should be in the text of Sallust, we cannot tell which Tucca he means, and that if it was any Tucca which we know, it was a long way from Cirta. Jacobs fixes Tucca forty (German) geographical miles west of Cirta, which is mere invention. If we follow the best MSS. authority, we shall write 'Sullam ab Utica.' But the wisest part is to let Sulla come, and not let the text say that he came from Tucca, nor yet from Utica, for Bellienus was summoned from Utica, and one sees no reason why Sulla should be at Utica.

L. Bellienum] Praetor of the province Africa. Kritz omits 'Utica' after 'praetorem,' and, as I have said, he writes 'Sullam ab Utica,' and he says that Sulla was wintering at Utica, where he looked after the winter quarters (c. 103, and c. 100). So he makes Sulla winter at Utica in Bellienus' province, which town of Utica, he also remarks, was the residence of the governor of Africa. All this is very absurd. It is plain that Cirta was the head quarters of the troops, though some might be on the coast, and it is more likely that Sulla was left at Cirta than any where else.—'mandata—cognoscit:' see c. 14, 'caussa incognita.'

ferocius decernunt] 'A few propose more violent measures (ferocius);' there is the notion of self-confidence in the word. Sallust often uses some form of 'ferox.' These men recommended the prosecution of the war, because they were arrogant and foolish. Marius and Sulla were wiser. This war must have been expensive to the Romans, and hazardous too. — 'mutantur:' 'mutant,' Cort. It is an emendation of Putschius. No doubt 'mutant' would do (see c. 38); and so will 'mutantur,' which the MSS. have.

Mauri—tres—duo] The Moors; then he divides them into three and two.

Rusone] This or 'Rufone' is the MSS. reading, but one MS. has 'Pisone.' Cort and some other editors write 'Rufo,' because there were 'Rufi' in the Octavia gens.

Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit; foedus et amicitia dabuntur, quum meruerit."

105. Quis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit uti Sullam ad se mitteret, cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium; praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis itineris properandi caussa, neque his secus atque aliis armis advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere; timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus et advorsum eos quos

delicti gratiam facit] See Cat. c. 52, 'delicti gratiam fecissem,' and the note.

105. *cujus arbitratu—consuleretur*] 'With full power to discuss about their common interests,' and to decide also. The subjunctive expresses the request that Sulla should have full powers to treat with him.

peditum] Roman infantry probably.—'Balearium:' the natives of the Baleares insulae, Majorca and Minorca, were skilled in the use of the sling. Caesar (B. G. ii. 7) employed them in the Gallic war.—'Peligna:' the Peligni occupied a mountainous country in Italy, the high parts east of the lake Fucinus. They were equipped with the light arms of the 'velites,' a small shield ('parma'), helmet, a short Spanish sword, and light javelins.—'neque his secus:' 'nor were they less protected with these than with other armour (their usual armour) against the missiles of the enemy, for (quod) they (the enemies' missiles) are light.'

mille non amplius] 'A thousand, not more.' 'Amplius' is used absolutely, as it often is.

numerum—efficiebant] The enemy did not make their number greater than it was, but being scattered about, they made their number appear greater than it was ('ampliorem vero'), and caused alarm as of an enemy. The verb 'efficiebant' applies to 'metum,' but not so well to 'numerum.' Yet there is no other verb, and the reader must correct the writer. This inaccurate way of writing is called zeugma by those who find names for all things.

se—expedire] 'To get ready for battle,' to rid themselves of all incumbrances. "Qua re nunciata Caesar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma expediri jubet" (B. G. vii. 18).—'intendere:' 'to be ready for action.' So the Romans said 'intentis hastis' (Livy 44, c. 41, quoted by Kritz).—'aliquantus:' see c. 74.—'et advorsum eos:' 'for the Romans were victorious, and the contest would be with men (et advorsum eos) whom,' &c. 'Advorsum eos' corresponds to 'victoribus.' It is one word in sense. In form it is an awkward way of writing.

saepe vicerant. Interim equites exploratum praemissi rem, ut erat, quietam nuntiant.

106. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul et praesidio missum. Deinde eum et proxumum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto voltu [pavens] ad Sullam accurrit dicitque, sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam proditis quos ducebat turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret. Ceterum ab eodem monitus uti noctu proficiscerentur con-

ut erat] 'Report, as the fact was, that all was peaceable.' 'Ut erat,' 'ut sunt' are so used. Kritz observes that the Romans are able to do without an adverb to express the truth of a fact, such as the German adverb *wirklich* (really, in reality), and they do what they wish to do by this indicative mood.

106. *appellat dicitque*] 'Dicitque' is omitted by Cort.—'animo feroci:' 'proudly.' See c. 104.

[*pavens*]] This is omitted by Cort.—'dicitque:' Cort omits this also. We have it twice, 'appellat dicitque,' 'accurrit dicitque,' and the evidence of the MSS. is for the words 'dicitque' in both places. The critics who eject these words cannot complain of them on the ground that they are absolutely unnecessary, for Sallust could not tell us what he has to tell us in any other way. Nor do they object to them, so far as I know, on the ground that either in Latin or in any other language a man should not write so; for so long as a man uses no more words than are necessary for his meaning, we cannot find fault with him, nor blame him if he uses the same words when he has the same thing to say. The stylists, I am aware, would avoid the repetition of words, even if they must use other words of exactly the same meaning, in doing which, they sometimes use words of a different meaning. I conclude then that the critics who eject 'dicitque,' mean that the use of these words in these places is not consistent with Sallust's way of writing. But we must determine Sallust's way of writing by the evidence of the MSS., and it is often very difficult to determine whether certain words, such as these, to which some critics object, are interpolations or the author's genuine words. I see no objection to omitting these words, and we should understand Sallust very well without them; but there is a difficulty in believing that somebody stuffed them into the text twice in the same chapter.

mansurum potius quam—vitae parceret] Kritz compares Livy 24, c. 3, "morituros se affirmabant citius quam . . . verterentur," and another passage in Livy 40, c. 4.—'proditis quos ducebat:' 'deserting his men.' 'Quos ducebat' is equivalent to one word in the ablative. Sulla answered like a soldier and a Roman.

silium approbat, ac statim milites coenatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrumos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quum equites Mauri nuntiant Jugurtham circiter duum milium intervallo ante eos consedisse. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

107. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet; suos hortatur uti fortem

coenatos esse] 'To sup.' He does not say 'coenare,' but 'coenatos esse,' 'to get the supper over.' They left fires burning to make the enemy believe that they were still there.

pariter—metabatur] He has c. 68, 'pariter cum occasu solis,' a form of expression not so good as Caesar's 'solis occasu,' 'prima luce.' Sulla was measuring out his camping ground, that is, his officers were doing it. This was the first thing that was done when the Romans came to a place where they were going to stay. The word 'metari' is not used by Caesar, I think. Cicero has 'castrorum metator.'

duum] See Jug. c. 48.—'ante:' 'in front of them.' As to 'eos,' Cort says that all his MSS. have it; but he omits it. It is not easy to see what is the use of 'ante' without 'eos.'

metus — invadit ; credere] He passes from the usual form, the indicative ('invadit'), to the historical infinitive ('credere').

apud illum—relinquendum] 'They ought not to leave such a crime in him unpunished.' Jugurtha was near, and the Romans thought that Volux had betrayed them. Kritz compares 'si ulla apud vos memoria . . . Masinissae.' The explanation is, that 'apud' is now and then used, where we might expect 'in' (Jacobs). This is not a good explanation. 'Apud' ought to mean something different from 'in,' nor indeed would it be easy to say what 'in illo' would mean. If 'apud illum' were omitted, the sense would be plain; but as it is in, and is placed in a prominent position, I suppose that it has a meaning. Volux, it was supposed, had committed an act of treachery, and if he were not punished, the villainy, according to Sallust's expression, would be left with him and in his possession ('apud illum'), unpunished; which is a way of saying that he would have done the bad deed and kept the fruit of it. This is the meaning. Ulpian has a curious passage on the distinction between 'penes' and 'apud' (Dig. 50. 16. 63), "*Penes te* amplius est quam *apud te ;* nam *apud te* est, quod qualiter qualiter a te teneatur; *penes te* est quod quodammodo possidetur." Whatever may be the value of this distinction, we have a meaning of 'apud' which is plain and useful. It is used among other ways to express something 'quod tenetur.'

107. *ab injuria—prohibet*] 'Protects from harm.' So Caesar writes, B. G. v. 21, and vi. 23.—'manus armaverit:' 'has taken arms in his hands.'—'inermis pedibus:' there is a form 'inermus' as well as 'inermis.'—'in maxumo metu:' this seems to be opposed to 'tutiores,' 'that there is most reason to fear when a man turns to the enemy that

animum gererent; saepe ante paucis strenuis adversam multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore; nec quemquam decere qui manus armaverit ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere; in maxumo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostis vortere. Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maxumum obtestatus ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum ac magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset; ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quum ipse filius testis adesset; quare optumum factu videri per media ejus castra palam transire; sese vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris solum cum Sulla iturum. Ea res ut in tali negotio probata, ac statim profecti, quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus quo ire intenderant perventum est.

108. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator et subdole

part of his body which is bare and cannot see;' a way of describing a man's turning his back. Cort and others after him compare Xenophon, Cyrop. iii. 3. 45, who has the same remark, and writes τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος.

ac magis] 'But it had happened through,' &c. So 'ac' and 'et' are used sometimes after a negative clause. But Cort omits 'ac.'—'cui videlicet:' 'who, it was plain, had been on the look out, and so found out what route they were taking.' Cort omits 'videlicet' on the authority of one MS., and he says that Sallust never uses 'videlicet' thus in any other passage.—'ipse filius:' 'he Bocchus' son.' — 'optumum factu:' 'optumum factum,' the reading of several MSS. See Cat. c. 32.

ut in tali negotio] 'Under the circumstances.' 'As things were, this seemed the best;' though under different circumstances it would not have been a prudent thing to do. 'Ut' is often used in this and like ways, when a comparison is tacitly made. There are examples in Caesar.—'acciderant:' 'come upon Jugurtha,' as it seems. Compare c. 88.

108. *orator*] 'As an ambassador.' He joins to 'orator' a clause of a different grammatical form, 'to keep a cautious watch on Bocchus' designs.'—'ex gente:' 'of the stock or family.' Jacobs says that Massugrada was most probably a son of Masinissa. He was certainly either a son of Masinissa or he was not; but I do not see on which side the probability lies.—'ortus:' one of

speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar, Massugradae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar, nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat, Mauro ob ingeni multa bona carus acceptusque. Quem Bocchus fidum [esse] Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus illico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit, paratum sese facere quae populus Romanus vellet; colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse delegeret; consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere; neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret, quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse. Sed ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea quae praedicabat simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum Jugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet; lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

109. Igitur Sulla respondit pauca coram Aspare locuturum, cetera occulte aut nullo aut quam paucissumis

Cort's MSS. omits 'ortus;' and it might be omitted.

tempestatibus] See c. 96.—'consulta—integra habere:' 'that he had made no change in all that had been agreed on with him' (c. 102). All was entire ('integra') just as it was settled.—'quo—gereretur:' Kritz says that a line before 'quo' has been lost in all the MSS., to this effect, 'velle se deinde secreto cum ipso agere.' Cort says nothing of any thing being lost. The meaning of 'licentius' is doubtful. He tells Sulla that he should not fear that by the presence of Jugurtha's ambassador the common interest, the interest of Bocchus and the Romans, would be treated more loosely, with less care; and he adds that there was no way of guarding against the treachery of Jugurtha otherwise than by allowing the legatus of Jugurtha to be present. Allowing Jugurtha's legatus to be present would give Jugurtha confidence, and then they might the more easily cheat him.—This passage has been explained in various ways. Allen says "Intellige *ideo receptum* ideo *pro legato habitum*, quo" &c. If this is the true explanation then 'quo—gereretur' means 'in order that the matter might be managed with more freedom.' Cort's pointing and explanation seem to me to be inadmissible.

comperior] See c. 45.—'Punica fide:' 'treachery.' The Romans always accused the Poeni of unfair dealing. Jacobs quotes Livy (42, c. 47), "haec Romana esse, non versutiarum Punicarum neque calliditatis Graecae, apud quos fallere hostem quam vi superare gloriosius fuerit."—'ob ea' &c.: 'for the reasons which he declared.' He was acting treacherously, while he pretended to be a friend to the Romans.—'spe—attinuisse:' 'held in hopes of peace.' —'lubidinem:' 'his inclination.'

109. *respondit—locuturum*] Cort omits 'respondit,' and it is omitted in several MSS. With 'locuturum' 'se' is to be understood. Comp. Cat. c. 31, 'ea familia ortum,' but there Sallust had just written 'de se.'

praesentibus; simul edocet quae sibi responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo pacem an bellum agitaturus foret. Tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decumum redire jubet; ac nihil etiamnunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Dein ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur, praeterea Dabar internuntius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit:

110. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore uti rex maxumus in hac terra et omnium quos novi privato homini gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor;

pacem] That is 'pacemne an bellum.' Sallust often uses 'agitare.'

ac—decrevisse] 'And Bocchus says that he had yet come to no resolution.'

Dein ambo] Sulla and Aspar Allen says. Cort confuses the matter. The story is not told clearly by Sallust. Bocchus (c. 108) sends Dabar to Sulla to tell the Roman that he is ready for a conference, and that he must not object to Aspar being present. Sulla answers to Dabar that he will not say much in Aspar's presence, and he tells Dabar what answer the king should give. Then they meet as Sulla had wished ('sicut voluerat'), the king and Sulla meet, and Aspar would be present. Sulla and Bocchus then play the part which had been agreed on. Sulla asks Bocchus if he will have peace. Bocchus ('rex') following his orders tells Sulla to come to him again in ten days, and he will answer. Then they separate to their respective camps. It is hardly necessary now to tell the reader who separated. Perhaps he will conclude that it was those who met, Sulla and Bocchus.

plerumque noctis] Like 'multum diei,' 'extremum diei.'—'adhibentur:' 'are present;' a usual word on such occasions. "Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet" (Caesar, B. G. i. 20). Interpreters ('interpretes') were often used by the Romans in foreign parts, and of necessity. There are examples in Caesar's Commentarii.—'internuntius:' 'a man who acts as a mediator between two parties, as the agent of both.'—'sanctus:' see c. 85, 'et ex aliis sanctis viris.' An honest man, of good life and conversation.—'ex sententia ambobus:' 'approved by both.'

110. *privato homini*] Sulla, who was not a king. Sulla was not 'privatus' in the Roman sense, for he was quaestor.

ante te cognitum] 'Before I knew you.' 'Ultro' is opposed to 'multis orantibus,' but it must be connected with 'opem tuli.' In sense it is the same as 'non rogantibus.' See 'ultro,' c. 43.

Id imminutum—laetor] So 'laetari' is used with an accusative; and 'imminutum' expresses that something is impaired; and this is Bocchus' dignity. He was now under obligations to a private man.—

fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando pretium amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet; arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quicquid animo lubet, sume, utere, et quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego existumo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum est. Ceterum de re publica vostra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci neque factum umquam volui; finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet; gerite quod voltis cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque id intrare Jugurtham sinam. Praeterea si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

111. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, "quod polliceatur senatum et populum Roma-

'fuerit—tuae:' this means 'let it be so.' 'Eguisse aliquando,' 'to have wanted (help) at last,' is the subject or nominative to 'fuerit,' and 'pretium amicitiae tuae' is the predicate. The sense then is, 'let it be so that my necessity at last has been the price of your friendship,' has purchased your friendship. There is a similar use of this tense and mood in c. 24, 'quae sane fuerint;' and see the note; and c. 31, 'Sed sane fuerit,' &c.

Id adeo] 'Id' refers to 'qua apud animum.' 'You may accordingly have proof of this if you choose.'—'numquam—putaveris:' 'never think,' that is, I would never wish you to have entertained the thought. Jacobs compares 'neque ceperit,' near the end of c. 85.—'integra:' that is, the 'gratia.' Bocchus' obligation will still remain entire, as great as it was at first, whatever Sulla shall ask and he shall give.

munificentia vinci] See c. 9.—'paucis accipe:' a usual form, 'hear in short what I have to say.' So he writes, c. 15, 'paucis respondent.'

Bellum—populo—neque feci] 'Bellum facere' is common. Here there is also the dative, which expresses those who are the object of the war.

finis meos] See c. 102.

Id omitto] 'I give up that,' the defence of the territory which he claimed east of the Mulucha.—'quando:' 'since.' See c. 102.

flumen—non egrediar] Tacitus uses this verb with an accusative.—'id intrare:' 'to come within the Mulucha, west of it.' Allen omits 'id.'

haud repulsus abibis] 'You shall not go away with a refusal.' Cort compares Horace, Serm. ii. 1. 86,

> "Solventur risu tabulae: tu missus abibis."

111. *pro se*] 'On his own behalf;' in return for the fine compliments which Bocchus had paid him.

quod polliceatur] 'As to his proffers, he told Bocchus that the Senate

num, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros; faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua rettulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut illi plurumum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, [tunc] ultro adventuram." Rex primo negitare; affinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus popularium animos avorteret, quis et Jugurtha carus et Romani invisi erant. Denique saepius fatigatus leniter et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum, ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida defessus bello avidissumus, quae utilia visa constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

112. At rex postero die Asparem Jugurthae legatum appellat dicitque, sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum posse condicionibus bellum poni; quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit; dein ab illo cuncta edoctus properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei denuntiat: "Ju-

and Roman people, being victorious, would not reckon them as a reason for owing him any obligation (in gratiam);' Bocchus' proffers to keep on the west side of the Mulucha.—'illorum—quam sua rettulisse:' 'something that might be considered for the advantage of the Romans more than his own.' 'Rettulisse,' the perfect corresponding to 'rĕferre:' the sense is 'illorum rem magis quam suam rem tulisse,' for 'sua' was originally 'suam' in this expression (Key's Lat. Gr. 910).—'id adeo:' 'besides, this was easy (in promptu), since he had Jugurtha in his power.'—'ultro adventuram:' would come to him without his going to it: it would be given to him. Cort omits '[tunc].'

affinitatem] See c. 80. Sallust has not told us before of any kinship between Bocchus and Jugurtha. —'intervenisse:' used as 'intercedere' sometimes is, as Jacobs remarks: 'there was a treaty between them.'—'ne fluxa fide usus:' 'lest if he were unsteady in his friendship.'—'leniter:' this is Cort's reading. He says that few of his MSS. have the verb 'lenitur.' Kritz and others have 'lenitur,' which, I think, is a false reading. One MS. has 'leuitur,' which is only a mistake of one letter, *u* for *n*, and a common mistake.—'ad simulandam—constituunt:' 'they agree on what was adapted to make a pretext of peace' between Jugurtha and the Romans.

112. *dicitque*] Cort omits. It is doubtful whether the words are genuine. — 'condicionibus — poni:' 'ended on terms of agreement,' not by complete submission as to a conqueror. He writes c. 83, "(bellum) deponi, quum victores velint."—'quamobrem—exquireret:' 'wherefore he ought to inquire,' and it may mean that he asked him to inquire. This tense is often used in like forms.

post diem octavum] He made

gurtham cupere omnia quae imperarentur facere, sed Mario parum confidere; saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse; ceterum Bocchus si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet; quum talem virum in potestatem habuisset, tum fore uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret; neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia, sed ob rem publicam, in hostium potestate relictum iri."

113. Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum compe-

haste to Jugurtha's camp, and he returned on the eighth day. These words 'properato itinere' and the eighth day, show that Jugurtha was at a considerable distance. In c. 107, Sulla and Volux had passed through or near to Jugurtha's camp, and they had advanced a few days' journey further. — 'ei denuntiat:' this word is sometimes used to express something like a threat; but in other cases it is used with 'monere,' 'praedicare,' and means no more than to 'give notice;' but it is a stronger expression than 'nuntiare,' and different too. Cort has 'nunciat.'—'quae imperarentur facere:' he was ready to do what he should be ordered, to submit to the terms imposed on him ('sibi'). It means just the same as 'imperata facturum,' c. 62. — 'conventam:' 'agreed on;' an unusual use of this participle, as Kritz remarks. The common form would be 'pacem quae convenisset.' See 'pax convenit,' c. 38.—'ambobus consultum—vellet:' 'if he wished the interests of both parties to be secured.' 'Consultum' is the neuter form of the passive participle, which is much used. Cort omits 'Bocchus' after 'ceterum,' and says that it is properly to be understood.—'in potestatem habuisset:' 'had got in his power.' The Romans also said 'in potestatem esse,' as Cicero sometimes writes. See Cicero, Verr. ii. c. 27, and the note.—'neque:' this is explained as if Sallust had written 'neque enim,' for it expresses a reason why Jugurtha supposed that the Romans would consent to make a treaty with him.—'non sua ignavia:' he leaves it rather short, for he means to say 'that a man of noble rank, who had not come into the enemy's power through his own fault, but while he was serving the State, would not be left in the enemy's power.'

113. *dolo—cunctatus*] 'Whether his delay was caused by treachery or was a real hesitation.' Kritz supposes that we must supply 'sit' with 'cunctatus,' I am rather inclined with Jacobs to take it as a participle and supply what is wanted to make the sentence complete. He supplies such an expression as 'id fecerit.' I think that the verb is to be supplied from the participle 'cunctatus,' thus: 'but whether hesitating he hesitated fraudulently (pretending only to hesitate) or really, I have not been able to discover.' One would wonder if he had discovered what this barbarian really thought; and we may wonder that the writer can tell us so much about the man's state of mind, as he does in the latter part of the chapter. Plutarch has a like story of Bocchus' irresolution. He may have used Sallust, but

rimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi advorsae. Postea tempore et loco constituto [in colloquium uti de pace veniretur], Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae pleni esse. Sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis ac statim immutata voluntate remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse voltu corporis pariter atque animo varius, quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessi jubet et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Jugurtham haud procul abesse,

I think that he had other authorities also (Sulla, c. 3; Marius, c. 10).

Cort has omitted 'cunctatus.' Gruter first scented ('odorabatur') the spuriosity of 'cunctatus,' as Cort says, and he adds "nihil de mora Bocchi hic memorandum erat."

Sed plerumque] He remarks that the resolutions of kings, as they are violent, so they are also changeable, and often downright contradictory. So he supposes that Bocchus for a time was really undecided as to what he should do; and that is probable.

in colloquium — veniretur] Cort thinks that these words have been interpolated from c. 112, and it is likely.

adhibitis — remotis] 'Calling his friends to him, and then immediately changing his mind and sending them away.' See note on 'adhibere,' c. 109. 'Removere' means to put out of the way something that is in the way. Like other verbs compounded with 're,' it may mean either the reverse of a thing, or the doing of a thing, when the action has reference to a previous state of things or to something which has preceded the act expressed by 're' and a verb. See the use of 'removeri' in Caesar, B. G. iv. 25, and in other passages.

voltu—varius] 'His countenance changing with his resolution.' But he says 'voltu ... varius,' 'changing in his countenance,' which is not our expression. 'Corporis,' as the critics say, means nothing particular, but it draws attention to the opposition or correspondence between his thoughts and the expression of his countenance. The king must have passed an uneasy night, and sleepless of course.—'quae scilicet:' see c. 102. 'Quae' means 'and all these things.'

arcessi] Cort writes 'arcessiri,' and other editors too. I have always intended to write 'arcessi,' but I may have left 'arcessiri' standing in some places, because it was in the book which I printed from, and I overlooked it. There is no doubt that the genuine form is 'arcesso,' not 'accerso.' Cort in his note on c. 62, contends that in the passive infinitive 'arcessiri' is the true form, for this verb is a mixture of the third and fourth conjugations. I doubt if we can decide whether 'arcessi' or 'arcessiri' is right. I am inclined to think that both forms were used.

ex illius sententia] See c. 109. Allen says on 'ex illius,' "Sic cod. MS. omnes: ed. Cort *ejus*." I do not observe that Cort notes the MSS. readings, but I think that 'illius' is the proper pronoun here.

cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro quasi obvius honoris caussa procedit in tumulum facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit, ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati; Jugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

114. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus

facillumum—insidiantibus] 'To a small elevation which could very easily be seen by the men who were lying in ambuscade;' as we learn from the words 'ex insidiis.' The men were also probably near the spot.

inermis] The ablative from the nominative 'inermus.' See c. 107. Cort has 'inermus.'

Jugurtha—vinctus] In B.C. 106, the year, as Jacobs remarks, in which M. Tullius Cicero and Cn. Pompeius Magnus were born. The capture of Jugurtha was probably early in B.C. 106, but though Sallust (c. 109) calls Marius consul, he was not consul in B.C. 106. His office ended with B.C. 107. There is no great inaccuracy in this, but still if Marius was really consul at the time mentioned in c. 109, the surrender of Jugurtha was at the end of B.C. 107.

Thus the cunning African was caught by a more cunning Roman, who, instead of being ashamed of the trick, was proud of his successful lying and hypocrisy. "Sulla carried his pride so far, as to have a seal-ring cut, on which the occurrence was represented, and he wore it constantly. The subject represented was Bocchus surrendering, and Sulla receiving the surrender of Jugurtha." (Plutarch, Sulla, c. 3; and Marius, c. 10).

114. *Per idem tempus*] In B.C. 105 the consul Cn. Manlius was in the Roman Provincia or the south of Gallia. Q. Caepio, consul B.C. 106, was also there. Each of them had an army to oppose the Cimbri and Teutones, whom Sallust incorrectly calls Galli. This is a very bad mistake in Sallust, and a proof of his carelessness, for the Galli, both those of the Provincia and those of the parts beyond the Provincia had suffered terribly from these Germanic invaders, who had wasted every thing that came in their way. The Galli had even been compelled to shut themselves up in their towns, and through famine to eat one another (Caesar, B. G. vii. 77).

It may be said in defence of Sallust, that the Tigurini had defeated L. Cassius. But this was in B.C. 107. In that year the Tigurini, one of the Helvetic cantons, entered the country of the Allobroges, killed the consul Cassius, and sent his army under the yoke. The Tigurini were Galli, but there is no evidence that they joined the Germanic invaders in B.C. 107. They had a war of their own. We do not hear of the Germanic nations, these Cimbri and Teutones, entering Switzerland during this terrible invasion. They came down from the north from Belgium. Besides, even if the Tigurini, a small part of the Celtae, did act with the Germans, we know that the rest of the people of Gallia did not join them, but were plundered by them; and further, Sallust does not even mention the Cimbri and Teutones, but says that the Galli defeated Caepio and Manlius, which is entirely false. The Romans were defeated by the Germans.

Manlius and Caepio had their camps near the Rhone. Each Roman camp was stormed by the barbarians, and eighty thousand men perished,

nostris Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique et inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum et Jugurtham Romam vinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul

if Livy's Epitome tells the truth (Ep. 67).

If Marius was still in Africa when the Romans sustained this defeat, he stayed there in B.C. 106, and at least during the greater part of B.C. 105, for Caepio was defeated in B.C. 105, and on the sixth of October, as Plutarch says (Lucullus, c. 27).

Illique &c.] 'Illi,' says Cort, "nempe *Itali Romani—Italia, illi* cohaeret." He compares c. 89, "Id ibique et in omni Africa, qui (Afri)," &c. Kritz has 'Ibique,' an emendation, I suppose, by somebody. Allen's explanation is clearer than Cort's, "*Illique et—*: et illius temporis Romani, et—."—'sic habuere:' 'had this conviction.' So Cicero, ad Fam. xvi. 4, quoted by Kritz, "Sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse," &c.—'prona:' see 'pronus,' c. 80. It is true what Sallust says of the Galli. They had long been the most formidable enemy of Rome, but at this time they were suffering from the Germanic invasion, which they might have resisted if they had been united. This is the first great invasion of the Gallic land by the German nations which is recorded, but probably not the first.

Marius consul absens] He was elected in B.C. 105, when he was still in Africa. It was an irregular thing for a man to be elected when he was not at Rome, but Marius was elected several times afterwards in his absence (Livy, Ep. 67, and 68). The Roman expression for this is 'absentis rationem habere' (Caesar, B. C. i. 9).

The war in Numidia was ended, and Jugurtha captured at the latest in the beginning of B.C. 106, and after saying that news came of the war being ended, Sallust adds that "they were bringing Jugurtha in chains to Rome," but that would be done some time in B.C. 105, above a year after the end of the war. He has joined this fact to the fact of the close of the war, which ended with the capture of Jugurtha, and if we had not other means of rectifying the chronology, we should be puzzled. He means then 'that after the news had come that the war was over, and also the news that they were bringing Jugurtha in chains to Rome,' which was later news, for I assume that Marius did not send Jugurtha to Rome, but brought him. He would not have allowed any one else to show Jugurtha to the Romans (Plut., Marius, c. 12).

The Romans gave Marius Gallia as his Provincia, as the field of his exertion in B.C. 104. Gallia means all Gallia, as much as might be necessary for Marius to enter. He was consul again in B.C. 103 and again in B.C. 102, three years in succession. In B.C. 102 he destroyed the Germans near the town of Aquae Sextiae (Aix) in the Provincia.

Kalendis Januariis] All the authorities fix the day of Marius' triumph on the 1st of January, B.C. 104. Jugurtha appeared in front of Marius' triumphal car in the procession, and when it was over, he was pitched into the foul hole named Tullianum (Cat. c. 55). "After the triumph, Jugurtha was thrown into prison, and while some were tearing

triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

his clothes from his body, others who were anxious to secure his golden ear-rings pulled them off, and the lobe of the ear with them; in this plight, being thrust down naked into a deep hole, in his phrenzy, with a grinning laugh he cried out, 'O Hercules, how cold your bath is!' After struggling with famine for six days, and to the last moment clinging to the wish to preserve his life, he paid the penalty due to his monstrous crimes" (Plutarch, Marius, c. 12).

NOTE

ON

THE CAPTURE OF CIRTA.

(*Jug.* c. 26.)

Kritz places the capture of Cirta in B.C. 116 (Chronological Table, p. 99). He gives no reasons for fixing this date. I suppose that he deduces the time from Sallust's narrative, but it is impossible to determine from the historian in what year Cirta was taken. In c. 27 he writes as if the conduct of Jugurtha was discussed in the Senate as soon as the news of the capture of Cirta and the death of Adherbal reached Rome. Attempts were made by the partizans of Jugurtha to adjourn the matter, as they knew that Jugurtha's crime would be forgotten if it was not promptly punished. But the Senate fearing public opinion, assigned Numidia as a province to one of the consuls who should be elected for the next year (B.C. 111), and made preparation for war against Jugurtha.

All this seems to show that the news came to Rome in B.C. 112, before the consular elections, and the news of the fall of Cirta might be carried to Rome in a fortnight or less. Accordingly some of the older critics have placed the fall of Cirta in B.C. 112, which Clinton also has done. Livy's Epitome (64) compared with Epit. 63, shows that he placed the capture of Cirta after the defeat of Papirius Carbo, which was in B.C. 113; and Livy therefore places the capture of Cirta in B.C. 112.

Micipsa died in B.C. 118. Clinton places in this year the death of Hiempsal and the expulsion of Adherbal, and he refers to Livy, Epit. 62. He places in B.C. 117 the restoration of Adherbal by the Roman commissioners. Thus he places more than four years between Adherbal's restoration and his death at the capture of Cirta. Part of this *time* was occupied in the siege of Cirta and the military events which

preceded it, but there is still left a considerable time after the new settlement in B.C. 117, during which time we must suppose that Jugurtha kept quiet; if we can suppose that such a man could be quiet.

Kritz places the death of Hiempsal in B.C. 116, and in the same year all the events from the death of Hiempsal to the capture of Cirta (Jug. cc. 20—26). He puts the movements of the tribune Memmius (c. 27) in B.C. 112, about which there is no dispute; but thus there is an interval of three full years, and part of a fourth, between the capture of Cirta and the declaration of war against Jugurtha.

Sallust seems to mean (c. 20) that Jugurtha formed his designs against Adherbal as soon as the Roman commissioners left Africa; and if we look at his narrative, we are led to think that Jugurtha began to execute his designs immediately. Events appear to go on with great rapidity. Adherbal is defeated and shuts himself up in Cirta. He was in the fifth month of the siege when he sent his letter to the Roman Senate (c. 24); and the siege continued some time after, but we cannot tell how long. I doubt if all the events contained in cc. 20—26 would happen within one year, and also the events contained in cc. 12—16, as Kritz has supposed.

I am inclined to think that B.C. 112 is the date of the capture of Cirta, which date agrees with all that Sallust says in c. 27. If this is a right conclusion, Sallust in his rapid style, caring more for effect than for truth, has made it appear as if Hiempsal's death, and the defeat of Adherbal, and the siege of Cirta, all followed in quick succession. If he was pleased with the dramatic style in which he had managed this part of the story, he should not have written c. 27 in such a way as to show that his previous story could not be true as to the matter of time.

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 42 note, "'ne' is omitted," *read* "'ut' is omitted."
—— 128 note, "thirty-six miles," *read* "sixteen miles."

A

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